SIMPLICITIES DEFENCE

against

SEVEN-HEADED POLICY.

OR

Innocency Vindicated, being unjustly Accused, and sorely Censured, by that

Seven-headed Church-Government

United in

NEW-ENGLAND:

OR

That Servant so Imperious in his Masters Absence Revived, and now thus re-acting in NEVV-ENGLAND.

OR

The combate of the United Colonies, not onely against some of the Natives and Subjects, but against the Authority also of the Kingdme of *England*, with their execution of Laws, in the name and Authority of the servant, (or of themselves) and not in the Name and Authority of the Lord, or fountain of the Government.

Wherein is declared an Act of a great people and Country of the *Indians* in those parts, both Princes and People (unanimously) in their voluntary Submission and Subjection unto the Protection and Government of Old England (from the Fame they hear thereof) together with the true manner and forme of it, as it appears under their own hands and seals, being stirred up, and provoked thereto, by the Combate and courses above-said.

Throughout which Treatise is secretly intermingled, that great Opposition, which is in the goings forth of those two grand Spirits, that are, and ever have been, extant in the World (through the sons of men) from the beginning and foundation thereof.

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LONDON,

Printed by *John Macock*, and are to be sold by LUKE FAVVNE, at his shop in *Pauls Church-yard*, at the sign of the *Parrot*. 1646.

Upon an occaſionall view, of this unexpected, and much unwiſhed for Story.

THis Story's *ſtrange*, but altogether *true*:
Old *Englands* Saints are *baniſht* out of *New*:
Oh Monſtrous *Art*, and *cunning* of the Devill,
What *hidden* paths he goes, to *ſpread*, his *evill*!
The *Man* of *Sin's* the *ſame*, his eldeſt *Son*;
Both have more *ſhapes*, then be *moats*, in the Sun.
Hence *diſappointed*, are the moſt of *men*;
When trouble's *paſt* (ſome thinke) they *riſe* agen.
Thus it befell theſe *Pilgrims*, in that *Land*,
To *which* they fled, from *perſecutions* hand,
This *Indians* note, with *Papiſts*, *Iews* and *Turks*,
For in *them all*, the ſelfe ſame *ſpirit* works:
Thus is the *Name* of *Chriſt*, *blaſpem'd*, by theſe,
Who burthen *them*, to whom they promiſe eaſe.

Oh *Chriſt* ariſe, and *ſpread* thy *glorious* fame,
That all may *know*, the *ſweetneſſe* of thy *Name*:
Aſia, *Affric*, *Europe*, and *America*
Expect! and *waite* the *dawnings* of that *day*,
That *Papiſts*, *Greeks*, and we the *Proteſtants*
Of *Calvins Sect*, thoſe too, the *Lutherans*,
And *they* that are a *ſtreine* above them *all*,
At *Ieſus* feet, at *length* may *humbly* fall,
That ſo ſuch *Chriſts*, which *moſt* in fancy *make*
(Whence 'tis (Men think) that Chriſtendome doth *ſhake*)

May at th' *appearing* of the *Lord* depart,
And *all* may *worship* him ev'n with *one heart*:
That so the *Nations* may this *glory see*;
And into *it*, at length *transformed* be:
This to *effect*, can't be by *sword* of *man*,
But *that* which to *with-stand*, no *Kingdomes* can,
For tis the *Lords* owne *might*, the *sword* that doth,
Ev'n with *two edges* flow out of *Gods* mouth,
By which are *slaine* the *wicked* of each *Land*,
And will sure *breake* each Persecutors *band*:
Then *England*, and *Yee Nations* round *about*,
That are now so lofty, and so *stout*:
At length *downe fall* to *him* that's *Lord* of *you*:
And *learne* with *him*, like *meekenesse* for to *show*:
If you with *iron Rods*, *Saints breake* and *bruise*.
Know then *your selves*, that *Christ* you *so* will *use*.

R. B.

A Lover of peace, and one of eminent reſpect, viewing this Treatiſe at the Preſſe, kindly added this verſe prefixed, which hath both ſodainly, and unexpectedly drawn from my thoughts as here followeth, as a teſtimony of my kind reſpects unto the party, though but a ſtranger unto him; it may alſo ſerve as an intelligencer, what was the only ground of controverſie, in acting according unto, and publiſhing of, this Treatiſe.

THe ſerpent with a voyce ſo *ſlie* and *fine*
Conſults with *nature*, as though he were *divine*,
Whil'ſt ſhe doth ſeek for glory, wealth, and love
In things that are *below*, and not *in that above*;
Lending *an* * *ear* to liſten unto him,
The *fruit looks fair*, the *tree* ſeems nothing grim:
And thence doth he, at *firſt begin t' ariſe*
Through earthly projects, for to make *man wiſe*:
Whereas the *light of heaven*, *GOD himſelf ordain'd*
To be that *thing*, whereby man is *maintain'd*

* Hence doth ariſe the way of *Solomons* harlot, ſet out in the way of this woman, *Gen.* 3. *Prov.* 7. who may not ſpeake in the Church, but uſurpeth. 1 *Tim.* 2.

In wisdom, honor, happiness, and peace,
That doth from *serpent* (sin, death, hell) release;
And no: *conjectural*, doubtful, subtil notion
Set forth, *by art*, with sign of great devotion.

Come from the *Prelates* *, your persecuting foes;
Our Church (*as Primitive*) Christ Jesus doth disclose
Her *Ordinances pure*, a Church erected here
Where you may worship, voyd of care or fear,
Our Land is large; Our Magistracy good;
Come *o're* to save that innocent-like blood
From such as are to cruelty so bent,
Our Ways are meek and humble, to give all content;
Thus he appears, *apparrelled in White*
To snare in that, wherein he takes delight.
An earthly Kingdom, he would fain erect
Then *spiritual honor*, he must needs reject.

That when *that*, * *Woman*, appeareth in her glory
With him in Womb, of whom intreats all story.
Then's he *a dragon red*, for to devour
That *child*, to whom is given, *all the power*
In heaven, and in earth, to rule as King and Lord.
None to the serpent, no, heaven cannot afford
A place of residence, he must thence depart
Down to the earth, full sore against his heart,
That he a place cannot *devise to frame*
Which from the *heavens* may seem to take its *fame*.
Cruel, Raging, Carnal, now he cometh forth
His *slie, and subtil Wisdom*, now proves nothing worth.

This woman, *now in travel*, finds not *time*
To listen unto him, *nought but the child is mine:*
Which *child in her*, can nothing else confesse,
But *Throne of glory* *, and *bare Wilderness*:
Which *twain together*, give all praise to one;
Then fury's in the Serpent, smooth policy is gone:
No *middle place* for Sathan now is found,
Not *one* with th' *manchild*; down he goes to ground:

His

* The serpents Voyce transmits into *new England*, speaking there in way of Ministry, as at the beginning.

* In this woman is set out the way of King *Lemuels* mother, that teacheth prophesie, *Rev.* 12 *Prov.* 31. who may pray and prophecy in the Church without usurpation. 1 *Cor.* 11

* For the one betakes it self to heaven, the other to the wilderness.

His cunning cannot now intice so far,
But *Michael*, and *his Angels* wil make War
With *Dragon*, and with all his *Angels* great,
Yea overcome him, never sound retreat.

Most of his skil he useth *, he knows how
To talk of benefits to receive, although not now,
And so from place, and person still delights to wend,
Where's outward peace, there's Christ, doth he pretend;
And if so be that troubles do arise,
Himself he saves, *the serpent is so wise*:
No tye, *to fold*, *nor flock*, he then wil know;
Christ in an earthly peace, he'l have, where e're he go.

Whereas *our Lord*, his voyce doth sometimes teach
Go to ** *Decapolis*, and there thou shalt me preach
Unto * ten Cities, great the number bee;
My Word shal reach them, and *I am with thee*.

For *I* am *truth*, and truth thou goest to show
Which makes thee free, my presence thou dost know
No place can, *scant thee off*, *then walke at large*,
Doubt not, *I'm with thee*, doe but keepe my *Charge*,
The nations shall come forth at *once*, yea at *one* g *birth*;
Truth in the change of *one*, reneweth all the *earth*;
Else, were *not perfect good*, in every one erect,
Nor *sinne were full*, through th'fall that great defect,
If change of *one* were not a world renew'd,
What *Nation then*, not brought in, and subdu'd,
When truth is publisht, though but unto *one*
Imbrac't, receiv'd? oh happy State of man,
All Gentile Jewels, *brought in*, * who can want
The world's in darkenesse, else could ne're be scant.

But Hypocrites cannot this thing digest,
In places, times, and persons, they seek wealth and rest,
And see not how *the mighty Lord above*
Hath cast his skirt o're Ruth, *yea fild her lap in love*,
Of whom comes Christ, that world of Gods *goodwill*,
What can she want, that heaven or earth doth fill?

* He ever puts off the day of the Lord as not yet time to build the Temple, but would live in his own seiled (or artificial) house of his own framing and device.

** Though he desired to be with Jesus, yet Jesus understanding his desire to be but nature (that is) to injoy him, according to the flesh, denies him that, that so he might be with him according to the spirit. *Mat.* 28. 10.

* For so the word *Decapolis* signifies ten Cities.

g See *Isa.* 60. 22 23. and 66. 8.

* See *Isa.* 61. 6 and 60. 11. 16.

All keepe their ſtations, *attend* as they have done,
Neglect no *homage*, or ſervice to the *Son*,
All bring their *vertues*, treaſures, and their glory
Centring them all in him, a world of Princely Dowry,
Then walke through Sea, or Land, by friends or foes
Let priſons faſt, hard irons thee incloſe,
All take thy part, yea plead thy cauſe for thee
The world vents its malice, *in Chriſts love thou art free.*

The Spirit of this world by theſe things comes to light
Its pomp, and glory, which earſt did ſhine ſo bright
Appears groſſe darkneſſe, unto Chriſtian eyes
Down comes its Kingdome, up goes its plaints and cryes,
Helpe *Sword and Gun*, elſe doth our Kingdome fall
Court, fire, * *Gangrena*, we taſt worm-wood and gall,
No marvell, for, Chriſt in his native kind
Set forth, declar'd unto a carnall mind,
Appears as odious unto ſuch a wight
As ſinne to him, in whom is found the light:
What ſentence ſhall be given then by ſons of men,
When truth appears, if power were found in them?

No power but that of darkneſſe then, let us to them aſcribe
What's in the Church's *our Lords*, *all* unto them deny'd;
Take heed yee Judg of *Blaſphemies* aright,
For Light diſcerns, the darkneſſe hath no ſight.
If Light, and Candleſticke, you know not how, t' make one
Suſpend your judgement, *all your skill is gone*,
And let the Judge of all, his Circuit paſſe apace,
Who comes *not to deſtroy*, ſuch is his grace,
And let that man his own deſtruction be,
Who breaks that *faith with God*, cannot be peec'd by thee:
Ceaſe then your proſecutions, ſeek yee to doe good:
Save life in any, in *Church wayes* ſpill not blood:
In Chriſt, if you conſider, the *Covenant* of God,
Youle find that all compulſion, is nought but that * *Nim-rod.*

S. G.

* Books ſo intituled written upon uncertain reports, tales, & conjectures to cure the Church.

* A meer hunting of men to worry your own kind; (or rather that hind of the morning, ſee *Pſa.* 22. in the title) thirſting after the precious life. Compare *Gen.* 10. 8, 9. with *Jer.* 16. 16.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, the Earl of *Warwick*, Lord High Admirall of ENGLAND, and Governour in chiefe of the Englifh Plantations in *America*, and upon the coafts thereof, and to the reft of *that Honourable Committee, joyned in Commiſſion with his Excellencie, For the Wel ordering, government, and ſafety of Forrain Plantations.*

RIGHT HONORABLE,

ACcording to the Fame we have heard of you, ſo have we found in you, a ſpirit of tenderneſſe and compaſsion towards the oppreſſed, which ever ſprings from the courage and fortitude of a heart reſolute to ſuppreſſe the Oppreſſor, be his power and policie what it may, whilſt men unſenſible of the cauſe of the Needy, ever ſtand in readineſſe to ſide with the ſtrongeſt partie, and ſo (as occaſion ſerves) to become one with the cruell, venting the ſame ſpirit, which for advantage can eaſily transform it ſelfe, ſo as if

A power

power comply with the juſt mans cauſe, the vizard of hypocriſie is ſoon put on by ſuch, either to become dumb & ſilent, or elſe to ſpeak ſo, as may beſt advantage it ſelfe, let the cauſe be what it will. Your wiſdom and noble care in thoſe weighty affairs committed to your truſt, commands and binds us over to make a more particular and full relation (then formerly we have done) of what hath paſſed betwixt ſome other Colonies in NEVV-ENGLAND, and our ſelves; that if it be poſsible to find any leiſure hours in a crowd of ſo great imployments, your Honours might he pleaſed to take a more full view of things; in the mean time we ſtand humbly ingaged, as we have done; and ever ſhall in any ſervice, that what we are, or have, can tender to the honour and peace of our Native Countrey, or to any true-hearted well-Wiſher thereof; and if no other ſervice (we can) may be acceptable, yet of this imployment none ſhall prevent us (whilſt our God gives us hearts) daily to pray for you.

Your Honours moſt humble Servants, the Inhabitants of Shaw-omet, *whoſe names are often expreſſed in this Narration.*

THE EPISTLE
TO THE
READER,

COURTEOUS READER.

DOe not thinke that we delight to lay open the infirmitie and weakneſſe of men (except our weakneſſes and infirmities, as the Son of God ſuſtained them) any further, nor to other end, but as they ſerve to diſcover and lay open that one ſpirit of the God of this World, which now works effectually in the children of diſobedience, which ſpirit in all its ſeverall wayes of operation, may be gathered up, and centred in, that ſon of perdition, yea, in that ſeven-headed, and ten horned beaſt, Whoſe power and policie like unto that deluge in the old world, hath ſo long overſpread the face of the earth, ſwallowing up in death every living thing that hath its motion upon the earth, after or according to the fleſh.

Nor can any be offended juſtly with us, (we not our adverſaries themſelves) for making this true Narration of things that have paſſed amongſt us, of which this Treatice truly ſpeaks; For actions performed wherein men have cauſe to glory, the further they ſpread, the more ſatisfactory to the agents; nor are actions of ſuch publick nature ſeldom performed, but to ſuch end and purpoſe, for if they be good, they ought not only to be reall and eſſentiall in them amongſt whom they are acted and done, but alſo preſidenti-

all and exemplary unto others where ever the Fame of them, may come; and if they be evill, then a whoriſh Fore-head muſt needs accompany them, being done in the light of the Sun, and then can no wiſe man be offended, that a way-marke is caſt up to give notice of ſuch deſperate, and dangerous wayes, unleſſe himſelfe be of the ſame ſpirit, and is about, or elſe waits for an opportunity for the like deſign.

Thou art intreated therefore not to looke upon this Treatiſe, as ſimply matter of Hiſtory, but as matter of myſterie alſo: For as it was acted to make manifeſt the operations and workings of a differing ſpirit, to that end it is publiſhed alſo: ſo that if it be narrowly looked into, not only a ſavour of that myſterie of iniquity will appeare (which alwayes works effectually to the ſame end and purpoſe, namely, to extinguiſh and put out the light of divine truth, Whereſoever, or in whomſoveer it appears) but thou wilt find ſome Foot-ſteps alſo of that great myſterie of God, whoſe bright beams of light where ever made manifeſt, declare the men of the world to ſit in the ſhadow of death. Though the myſterie of iniquity works not alwayes in the ſame manner and forme, nay ſeldome any long time together, without taking a new face, and uſing the art of transformation of it ſelfe into one an other ſhape, and herein lies the policie of Sathan, that when ſome time hath been ſpent (yea it may be an age) in hopes and expectation of glorious times of peace, eaſe, and exaltation, from the mouths of lying Prophets, who alwayes drive the peace, power, and principality of the Kingdome of God, ſome certaine time before them, or at the leaſt before the common people (as they call them) as though they themſelves were the onely men, that for the preſent were admitted into the counſells and ſecrets of the Kingdome of God, and the people to take it upon their report, where, and when, the appearance of it ſhall be.

But when the world by due proof, finds their predictions to fail, and ſees troups of its anceſtors go down to the grave, not having the poſſeſſion put into their hand, it then works effectually for a transformation, to caſt its worſhip of God into another form, wherin it hopes in ſhorter time for to attain him, in which ſtate it cannot reſt to wait, unleſſe it hath the ſtrongeſt partie, according

according to the power of the arm of flesh on its side, *and therefore must of necessity labour diligently as for life, to borrow a* coercive *power from the civil Magistrate, to be transferred, turned over, and put into their hands, whereby they may subdue others, and compell them to follow their way, and to acknowledge their worship to be* onely divine; yea the onely God of the world, for there is but one divinitie, *which they have now made and set up unto themselves,* or else *that the Civil Magistrate will be pleased to detain and keep his own power* upon this condition (binding him unto themselves) *that he shall not fail, to bind the* hands *and* tongues, *yea and* hearts *also (if they can but search and know what is in them) that none shall be permitted to intermeddle, or any way to disturb them: But that they may peaceably worship, every man in his* garden, and under such a green tree, as he shall choose unto himself, *being fearfull of trouble and disquiet, not knowing better,* but that the crosse of Christ is terrible, *as though the Sonne of God had not taken away the* terror *and* angry face *of it, putting no lesse disparagement upon him,* but as though the sting were in death still, *being ignorant of this,* how that by death he overcomes death, even untill now.

The reason why the civil Magistrate is so sought after, and (as I may justly say) troubled, if not tortured, in the depopulation of Kingdoms, and losse of true-hearted Subjects by the church, in her formalities, and perfunctory worships, *is this, a naturall heart conceives the condition of the Church of Christ,* to be like a common weal *or* Kingdome, *which cannot be well, unlesse every individuall within such naturall and terrene confines, agree in one, for the well being and glory of each particular in the whole, so that the humble submission of every Subject becomes one, in that one heart and Spirit of the* King, who submits to the deniall of himself (in any thing) for the preservation of the whole, *and that one heart, courage, and magnanimity of the King, is in every individuall of the Kingdome, to go forth for the honour, peace and preservation,* of that their one Lord; *and so it is in the true Church rightly considered in its relation with the* King of Saints, *truly considered in Spirituall, and not in terrene respects; but that naturall spirit that works in a naturall*

changeable and vanishing Church, judgeth of its peace according to the consent of all within the compasse of such naturall bounds and terrene confines as it self resides & abides in; and therefore the false prophet *is said to be the* Tail, *because which way the* honorable person *looks, or the head of the place where he is (according to man) he alwayes* steers the body of the people, yea though it be but the body of the beast that way, *that he may have strength according to sence on his side,* not knowing how to live or walk according to the power of faith; *therefore must either have all (if it be possible) or at least the greatest both for authority and number on his side; for he sees not* the blessing of the Divine presence *that goes with the ark of God* though among many adversaries in a Wildernesse; *therefore will he take up nothing but* the Tabernacle of *Molech (or as the Word is)* beare the booth of the King, *that is, what manner of house soever, authority and civil power erecteth, for worship, he is ready to take up, and bear upon his shoulders, so that Antichrist hath as may wayes of Worship,* as there is or hath been formes of Religion in the world, *and in that the seed of the serpent crusheth the heel, (or as the Word is)* the print of the foot-seal *of Christ (or seed of the Woman, for wherever the footsteps of our Lord have gone, the wisdome of the serpent in reforming its religion casts it into a form,* and so denies the power of godlinesse, *tying the Lord Iesus to appeare in the very same print and character again, whereas the Saints wait for his power in what way or form he pleaseth to make it known and manifest in, and unto them; therefore the visions and apparitions of God in the holy Scriptures,* are never twice in the same form *(all circumstances considered) yea if our Saviour appear one time* walking upon the Sea, *as though all things must of necessity bear up their Lord, he appeares again under the hands of* Herod, Pontius Pilate, *and the Iews,* thrust down into the heart of the earth, *as* Jonah *into the midst of the sea, as though all things conspired together to annihilate & bring him to nought, and in the one and the other appeares an aptitude even in the Disciples themselves to mistake, and in this the World is altogether mistaken, in that he walketh upon and raiseth himself up out of wayes they know not how such things can be to make*

manifest

manifeſt his power and authority to be that of the ſonne of God, who rules in the midſt of his enemies, *and out of* Egypt, Babylon * Rahab, Paleſtina, Tyre and Ethiopia, *is brought forth, ſo that it may be ſaid* this man was born there, even as the truth of the Goſpel hath been brought forth in theſe parts, *which our Jewiſh Reformers of religion by putting Chriſt to death, could never have thought of or apprehended, nor will they (were it never ſo plainly told unto them) believe it, ſo that in this Treatiſe you may plainly ſee, how the* myſtery of iniquity *already works,* even in *New England* which thought it felt the root of Reformation of all the world, *even as* Babylon *alwayes in the entrance of her compulſive contraction, artificiall and ſelf-ſeeking, conjecturall reformation,* ſets her ſelf up as a Queen, and thinks never to ſee widdow-hood or ſorrow any more, *if ſhe can but with all her art and learning keep the Magiſtrates conſcience in bonds, to uſe all his power and civil policie* for her wealth, to get riches and honour, to Lord it over mens conſciences, and peace that ſhe may ſit in ſafety and at reſt *to inlarge her barns and take her pleaſure in the things of this life, never dreaming* that even in that night of groſſe darkneſſe her ſoul ſhall be snatched away from her, *and then whoſe ſhall all thoſe things be, whereof ſhe hath framed ſuch a ſervice of God to her ſelf, that muſt all leave her at death; even ſuch as for the moſt part, if not all (by her own acknowledgement) fail,* and never paſſe along with her into the Kingdom, and then muſt ſhe either have a new God, or elſe find out a new way of ſubmiſſion unto him, *whom ſhe hath ſeemed ſo zealouſly to ſerve; ſuch is that ſpirit of the myſtery of iniquity, the goings forth wherof hath forced this Treatiſe to come to the light and view of the world,* as a warning to all Chriſtians, *to take heed of being beguiled* by a voluntary humility in worſhipping of Angels, *meſſengers or miniſters, who labour to make men ſubject to the rudiments of the world in outward obſervations,* as touch not, taſt not, handle not, *rearing up a fabrick of ordinances in Divine worſhip; of ſuch things* which all periſh in the uſe, Neglecting the body which is Chriſt, *by ſatisfying of the wiſdom of the fleſh in theſe things,* through which the Spirit of the Serpent multiplies it ſelf into that three-

Rahab is Egypt. Iſa. 51 9.10.

fold

fold ſpirit which comes out of the mouth of the Dragon, and out of the mouth of the beaſt, and out of the mouth of the falſe Prophet, imitating *that Kingly, Prieſtly, and Propheticall ſpirit that is by Ieſus Chriſt, beguiling the world with its uncleanneſſe* in adulterating the word of God by bringing it into carnall copulation with earthly, tranſitory, momentany, fading and vaniſhing things; wo is unto them becauſe thereof, *Who like unto frogs, will never appear, hold up their heads, nor utter a voyce, but where the heat and luſtre of the Civil Magiſtrate, brings forth a pleaſant, fruitfull and proſperous eſtate and condition, in the things that onely concern this preſent life.*

Again, if thou loook narrowly into this Treatiſe, there is a poſſibility to perceive in it, ſome glimpſe of the light of that ſpirit that openeth and unfoldeth the myſtery of God, *eſpecially When it taketh up any* Scriptures; look diligently upon what hinge it turneth, *and you ſhall ſee a doore open, another Way,* yea a nearer & ſhorter cut to the Kingdom of God, then the common miniſtery of this world driveth at, *and think it not ſtrange if Ieſus appeare in ſuch places, and at ſuch time, where, and when,* the doores are not onely ſhut, but faſt bolted unto the world, *as a thing impoſſible, that his real and ſubſtantiall (though ſpirituall) body ſhould come in, ſuch a way, and ſo unlooked for, being that* in Sodom and *Egypt* our Lord is crucified, and put to death; *yet let me adviſe thee, as once our Lord did, handle them, carefully and skilfully, ponder, poiſe, and feel the weight of them; taſte, try and conſider,* whether the reality and ſubſtantiality of Chriſt be not there; *ſure I am that if the miniſterie or ſervice of a Chriſtian ſpirit* lay hands on them, and put it felt into them, *even as a graft is put into the ſtock, it ſhall find a plain proof, argument, and demonſtration undenyable,* of the apparition & revelation of the Son of God, returned from death to life, never to die any more; *unto whom I leave thee (in the communication of whoſe Reſurrection the ſecond death can never exerciſe power) With my harty Wiſhes for al thoſe that have learned the truth as it is in Ieſus, & know that elſewhere no truth (that is (chriſtian) can be found, for that only abideth for ever, and is eternized in all the lineaments and whole proportion of it, and happy is he that hath ſo learned Chriſt,* Amen.

S. G.

Innocencies Defence, againſt a ſeven-headed CHVRCH-GOVERNMENT United in NEW-ENGLAND.

THe moderation of *New Englands* Juſtice, deſired to be known to all men*, and what is the principall things pretended in the Execution thereof; namely, To ſuppreſſe Hereticks, and to confirm that to be truth which the Unity of the moſt Colonies hold; plainly declaring and ſetting forth to the view of all, What is the proper bent and drift of that ſpirit that diggs ſo deep to hide its ſin in ſecret, which ſo affecteth to aſſume titles unto it ſelf, & alſo to give at their pleaſure unto others; to make themſelves appear, in the eyes of men, more holy and honourable in the things of God, then others of their Brethren; commonly crying out, againſt that power exerciſed amongſt others, for no other end but to aſſume it unto themſelves, to cloth the dictates of that ſpirit therewith, whereby themſelves are led, and ſo to exerciſe it with all zeal and wrath in the life, ſpirit, and ſubſtance of it, only with another face or countenance ſet upon it to deceive and beguile

* As you may ſee in the following Treatiſe.

the ſimple; Not being able to indure the aire, where Cap, Tippit, or upper Shirt appeareth: but can bath themſelves in blood and feed themſelves fat, by devouring the good name, eſtates, and lives of their brethren, who neither do, nor think harme unto them, nor reſide within the compaſſe of any of their Juriſdictions, evidently proved by a late aſſault given (by the men of the *Maſſachuſets* and other Colonies united for ſuch a purpoſe) upon others of their Countrymen, Inhabitants of a tract of land called *Shaw-omet*, ſituate in the *Nanhyganſet* Bay in *New-England*: The truth whereof this Treatiſe witneſſeth, and the ſubſtance of all is to be ſeen under their own hand writing; as alſo in the writings of others, who were eye and ear-witneſſes in the Cauſe, and have teſtified under their hands the truth of it.

Here followeth a Narration of the men of Shaw-omet, *concerning the ground of tranſplanting of themſelves and families, and of their firſt entrance into that part of* America *now called* New-England.

WHereas we removed our ſelves and families out of our native Country, about ten or twelve years ago by the leave of this State, only to injoy the liberty of our conſciences, in reſpect of our faith towards God, and for no other end, not ſcrupling any Civill Ordinance, for the education, ordering, or government of any Civil State.

Landing by the providence of God at *Boſton* in the *Maſſachuſets* Bay, we found our Countrymen at great variance in point of Religion, proſecuting it very hotly in their publique Courts unto fines and baniſhments, occaſioning men thereby much to vent and bring forth themſelves; and we underſtanding that they had formerly baniſhed one Maſter *Roger Williams*, a man of good report both for life and doctrine (even amongſt themſelves) for diſſenting from them in ſome points about their Church Government, and that in the extremity of winter, forcing him to betake himſelfe into the vaſt wilderneſs to ſit down amongſt the Indians, in a place by their own confeſſions

ſeſſions, out of all their Juriſdictions: And at that time of our arrivall at *Boſton*, they were proceeding againſt one Maſter *John Wheelwright*, a man of like life and converſation, whom they alſo baniſhed for differing with them in point of Doctrine, the ſumm whereof conſiſted in this, *That ſanctification is not the firſt evidence unto a Chriſtian of his ſalvation*; and many others manifeſting their thoughts about ſuch points then controverted amongſt them, were alſo impriſoned, fined, baniſhed, diſarmed, and caſt out from amongſt them.

And we plainly perceiving that the ſcope of their doctrine was bent onely to maintain that outward forme of worſhip which they had erected to themſelves, tending only to the outward carriage of one man toward another, leaving thoſe principles of Divinity, wherein we had been inſtructed in our native Country, tending to faith towards God in Chriſt: and we finding no ground nor warrant for ſuch an order in the Church (to bind mens conſciences unto) as they had eſtabliſhed amongſt them; our conſciences could not cloſe with them in ſuch their practices, which they perceiving, denyed us the common benefit of the Country, even ſo much as a place to reſide in, and plant upon, for the maintenance and preſervation of our ſelves, our wives and little ones; as alſo proceeded againſt us, as they had done to others; yea with more ſeverity, unto confinements, impriſonments, chains, fines, whippings, and baniſhment out of all their Juriſdictions, to wander in the wilderneſſe in extremity of winter, yea when the ſnow was up to the knee, and rivers to wade through up unto the midle, and not ſo much as one of the Indians to be found in that extremity of weather to afford us either fire, or any harbor, ſuch as themſelves had; being removed into ſwamps and thickets, where they were not to be found; in which condition, in the continuation of the weather, we lay diverſe nights together, having no victuals, but what we took on our backs, and our drink as the ſnow afforded unto us, whereupon we were conſtrained with the hazard of our lives to betake our ſelves into a part of the Country called the *Nanhyganſet* Bay, buying ſeverall parcels of Land of the Indians there inhabiting; and ſat

down in, and neer the place where Master *Roger Williams* was where we built houses, and bestowed our labors to raise up means to maintain our wives and little ones (which our Countrymen out of their zeal had deprived us of, and taken away from us) quietly possessing them for the space of seven or eight years (some of us) no man interrupting us, but both the *Massachusets*, and also *Plymouth* confessed us to be out of the confines of their Patents; but when they perceived those parts to be a refuge for such as were oppressed and grieved amongst themselves, who repaired unto us for shelter, then they went about to bring those parts to be under their Jurisdictions, by all possible pretences, and stretching their line for that purpose, thinking to get some colour for their proceedings; yet fell they short of our Plantations fourteen or fifteen miles, as did evidently appear, and was by themselves acknowledged, and when they saw they could not accomplish their ends by that project, they then insinuated themselves into the minds of three ill-affected persons amongst us, that they should acknowledge themselves to be subjects unto them, and to depend upon them for protection and government, whom they had formerly cast out from amongst them, both out of their Churches, and censured them also in their Civil Courts for grosse and scandalous offences, as one *Robert Cole* whom they had censured to were a D upon his back for a whole year, to proclaim unto all men his guiltinesse of the sin of drunkennesse, and had also cast him out of their Church, and delivered him unto Sathan severall times, who before and in the times of this his submission usually conversed with, and was conversant amongst the Indians on the Sabboth dayes, professing the Indians Religion to be the same with that which the *Massachusets* professed and practiced *; There was also one *William Arnald* and his son *Benedick* who subjected themselves unto the *Massachusets*, which *Arnald* was a great professor of Religion in the West of Old *England*; but in the time of this his subjection was known constantly to imploy himselfe in servile work upon the Sabboth day, and professed it to be his excellency above that which his neighbour had attained unto; his

* This speech of *Robert Cole* was uttered before many who can witnesse it.

his ſon *Benedick* conſtantly trading with the Indians on the Sabboth day, being a factor for them of the *Maſſachuſets*, being ſupplyed with commodity from them, having toleration to ſell powder to the Indians, but denyed to be ſold unto us, unleſſe we would ſubject our ſelves as they had done; theſe pretended ſubjects of the *Maſſachuſets*, thus far fetcht, had learned this deviſe, that whereas ſome of us had ſmall parcels of land laid out to build houſes upon and plant corn, and all the reſt lay common undivided, as the cuſtome of the Country for the moſt part is, they would not permit us any more land to build upon or to feed our cattell, unleſſe we would keep upon that which they would confeſſe to be our proper right, and they would admit of no diviſion, but by the foot or by the inch, and then we could neither have roome to ſet a houſe but part of it would ſtand on their land, nor put a cow to graſſe, but immediately her bounds were broken, and then preſently muſt the one be pull'd down, and the other put into the pound, to make ſatisfaction, or till ſatisfaction were made for both. So that by this unreaſonable and palpable ſlight of theſe pretended ſubjects, together with the power of this ſo irregular a Government, we plainly perceived a ſna e was laid to intangle us again; not only to hinder us to provide for our families, but to bereave us again of what God, through our labour and induſtry, had raiſed up unto us as means to maintain our families with.

Now when the *Maſſachuſets* had gained theſe men to be inſtruments in this manner to effect their end, then did they inſtitute them as officers to execute their warrants amongſt us in thoſe parts, upon any complaint theſe above named ſubjects ſhould make unto them upon the grounds above mentioned, who preſently ſent a Warrant unto us, to command our appearance at their Courts, under the hand of the Governor and divers of the aſſiſtants in the *Maſſachuſets*, threatning to uſe violence againſt us in caſe we obeyed not.

A true Copy of the firſt Warrant that was ſent unto us from the Governor and Aſſiſtants of the Maſſachuſets, *into the* Nanhyganſet *Bay, before we planted upon that tract of land called* Shaw-omet, *ſituate upon the ſame Bay: The Warrant is here ſet down* verbatim, *and is ſtil extant.*

Maſſachuſets, *To our Neighbours* of *Providence.*

WHereas *William Arnald* of *Pautuxet**, and *Robert Cole*, and others, have lately put themſelves and their families, lands and eſtates, under the protection and government of this Juriſdiction, and have ſince complained to us, that you have ſince (upon pretence of a late purchaſe from the Indians) gone about to deprive them of their lawfull intereſt confirmed by four years poſſeſſion, and otherwiſe to moleſt them: We thought good therefore to write to you on their behalfe, to give you notice, that they and their lands, *&c.* being under our Juriſdiction, we are to maintain them in their lawfull rights. If therefore you have any juſt title to any thing they poſſeſſe, you may proceed againſt them in our Court, where you ſhall have equall juſtice: But if you ſhall proceed to any violence, you muſt not blame us, if we ſhall take a like courſe to right them.

* *Pautuxet* is a place neer *Providence*, where one or two of theſe their ſubjects had built houſes & at their pleaſure were both in *Providence* and alſo in *Pautuxet*, having houſes & land in both.

Jo. Winthrop, Governor.
The. Dudley.
The 28°. *of the* 8°. 1642. *Ri. Bellingham.*
Incr. Nowell.

This Warrant being delivered unto us by their new made officer *William Arnald*, in the name of the *Maſſachuſets*, we took into ſerious conſideration, having former experience abundantly of their unkind and inhumane dealing with us, yea towards our wives and children, when our ſelves were ſometimes in baniſhments, and ſometimes in priſon, and irons (by them) before. We thought it meet (for the preſervation of our peace, together with that Compaſſion we had of our wives and little ones) to leave our houſes, and the reſt of our labors, lying neer

unto

unto thoſe their pretended ſubjects (whom we ſaw maliciouſly bent) and to remove our ſelves and families further off, from the *Maſſachuſets*, and ſuch their coadjutours, being then amongſt us: For we ſaw that they did not only endeavor to take away our livelyhood, but intended to take away our lives alſo, in caſe they could find a way to ſatisfie the Country in doing of ſuch an act and execution: For we had never accuſation brought in againſt us, but what roſe from the Magiſtrates and the Miniſters; for we walked ſo, as to do no man wrong, only juſtified the cauſe of our Religion, as we had learned and received the principles thereof before we went amongſt them; as alſo the laws and government of this Kingdome of *England* unto which we ever willingly acknowledged our ſelves to be loyall ſubjects, and therefore could not ſuffer our ſelves to be intrenched upon by our fellow ſubjects, further then the laws of our King and State doth allow.

Now that they ſought the lives of ſome of us, at this time is evident; For *John Warner* Citizen and Freeman of *London* a man well known, who afterwards was one of thoſe againſt whom they now proſecuted, having formerly had ſome buſineſſe with Maſter *Winthrop* the Governor of the *Maſſachuſets*, he asked the ſaid *Warner* (living then in the *Nanhyganſet* Bay) whether he knew one *Samuel Gorton*, (a man alſo againſt whom they now proſecuted) who lived alſo in the ſaid Bay, but at that time *John Warner* had not ſeen him, living a matter of twenty miles one from the other: The Governor told him he was a man not fit to live upon the face of the earth; alſo one of the Elders of the Church of *Boſton* told a Miniſter (who reported it in the place where *Gorton* lived) That if they had *Gorton* at *Boſton* in the *Maſſachuſets*, he would hardly ſee his own houſe any more; yea one Maſter *Collins*, a man of excellent parts of learning, and of an unblameable life amongſt men, being Miniſter of one of the Weſtern Iſlands, from that report he heard of Religion, came to *New England*, who married one of Miſtreſſe *Huchinſons* daughters, and being *Franois Huchinſon* his brother in law, was a member of the Church at *Boſton*, who ſeriouſly conſidering and laying to heart the Old M. *Oliver*

wayes

wayes of their Church and the carriage of his brethren conſulting with the Miniſter, the two yong men could not have reſt in their ſpirits till they went down to adviſe or debate the matter with the Church, though they were come out from them and lived on Road Iſland in the *Nanhyganſet* Bay, and when they came to *Boſton*, and the Brethren were gathered together either to give or receive ſatisfaction, when they ſaw the arguments produced by the Miniſter and his brother to weigh ſomewhat heavy, then the ſtrongeſt of their Church members of *Boſton* (namely the Governor and Aſſiſtants) caſt them in priſon to regulate their opinion that differed from them, and there kept them in durance for many Moneths; but at the laſt, ſetting them at liberty, yet giving out ſome threatning words afterwards, as though they would fetch them again; the yong men could have no reſt in their ſpirits day nor night, till they were gone out further from the *Maſſachuſets* then that Iſland was, yea under ſome forreign government where the *Maſſachuſets* could not pretend to have any thing to do; for they had heard that the *Maſſachuſets* intended to take in all the *Nanhyganſet* Bay under their Government and Juriſdiction: Whereupon Maſter *Collins* came where the aforeſaid *Gorton* and his Family were, namely at *Providence*; and ſeriouſly adviſed him to go along to the *Dutch* Plantation or elſe to the *Sweads*; for, upon his knowledge, the *Maſſachuſets* intended, in ſhort time, to take away his life, if he abode in any of the *Engliſh* Plantations; for he had received certain information thereof, whil'ſt he was amongſt them, ſhewing great affection to move him thereunto: *Gorton* thanked him kindly for his love, being but a ſtranger to him, but told him he could not go under a forreign Prince for protection, till he ſaw further then yet he did; knowing he had neither been falſe to his King nor Country, nor to his conſcience, in point of Religion, ſo far as God had informed him. But Maſter *Collins* and his Brother, together with their Mother and whole Family, for fear, removed to the *Dutch* Plantation, with divers other friends and families; who were miſerably maſſacred by thoſe barbarous Indians (both men, women and

and children) being then at war with the *Dutch*, who took ſome of the *Engliſh* children (out of families of good note) as Captives, and keep and train them up amongſt themſelves unto this day, having moſt barbarouſly and cruelly ſlain their Parents, who had been not a little carefull to train them up in their life time, both in faith and manners. But we removing our ſelves, as aboveſaid, into another part of the *Nanhyganſet* Bay, further from the *Maſſachuſets*, and where none of the *Engliſh*, nor other Nations had any thing to do, but only Indians, the true natives, of whom we bought a parcell of land called *Shaw-omet* (as is aboveſaid) not only of *Myantonomy*, chiefe Sachim, or prince of thoſe parts of the Country; but alſo with the free conſent of the Inhabitants of the place.

Now we plainly perceiving that the drift of the *Maſſachuſets*, and thoſe joyned with them, was not only to take the whole Country of the *Engliſh* Plantations into their Juriſdictions; but alſo to eſtabliſh what way of Religion themſelves thought fit, to the the taking away (not only of goods) but lives alſo of ſuch as were otherwiſe minded: We made anſwer unto the Writing, they had ſent unto us, on this wiſe; which Anſwer was made upon our removall from *Mooſhawſet* (otherwiſe called PROVIDENCE) to *Shawomet*.

A true Copy of our Anſwer to the Warrant or Writing which the men of the Maſſachuſets *ſent unto us, as is above noted; Wherein we only take up their own expreſſions, to ſhew unto them the ſpirit and power of their Religion, which they go about by theſe means to preſerve, inlarge, and ſhew the glory of it to the World: The Anſwer is* verbatim *examined by the originall Copy; only marginall Notes added to help the Reader to underſtand our true meaning.*

Mooſhawſet, *November* the 20. 1642. *To our Neighbours of the* MASSACHUSETS.

WHereas we lately received an irregular note [a] profeſſing its forme from the *Maſſachuſets*, with four mens Names

[a] Irregular becauſ it went beyond their bounds and juriſdictions limited unto them.

Names subscribed thereunto (as principall authors of it) of the chiefe amongst you, we could not easily give credit unto the truth thereof; Not only because of the conveyers of it unto us are known to be men whose constant and professed acts are worse then the counterfeitings of mens hands; but also, because we thought that men of your parts and profession would never have prostrated their wisdome to such an act: But considering that causlesse emnity you have against us, the proof whereof every occasion brings forth, we cannot but conclude, That no act so ill, which that ancient Mother will not bring forth her seed unto; (b) For we know very well that it is the name of Christ called upon us (c) which you strive against, whence it is that you stand on tiptoe to stretch your selves beyond your bounds, to seek occasion against us (so) as you might hide your sin with *Adam* (d) bearing the world in hand it is not your desire to contend with us, but some civill breach in our course which you seek to redresse; whereas neither you nor any in way of truth can find wherewith to bring us under the censure of a disorderly course of walking amongst them. And as for the way of that ancient spirit of accusation of the brethren (e) we weigh it not, knowing him to be a lyar (or in the abstract a lye) from the beginning (f), yea and the father of it also; which thing you cannot know though it were told unto you: whereas you say *Robert Cole, William Arnald*, with others, have put themselves under the government and protection of your Jurisdiction, which is the occasion you have now got to contend; we wish your words were verified, that they were not elsewhere to be found (g), being nothing but the shame of Religion, disquiet and disturbance of the places where they are; for we know neither the one nor the other, with all their associates and confederates, have power to inlarge the bounds, by King *CHARLES*, limited unto you. Behold therefore, in this your act, a Map of your spirituall estate (to use your own phrase); for we know that the spirituality of your Churches, is the civility of your Commonwealth, and the civility of your Cómonwealth is the spirituality of your Churches; the wisdom of man being the whole accomplesense of them both,

(b) That is the wisdom of the flesh conversant about the things of God brings forth unto cruelty all them in whom it is found so exercised.

(c) Jer. 14. 9.

(d) By disclaiming the cause of their proceeding against us to be another thing then indeed it was, even as *Adam* laid the fault upon the woman, whereas indeed she came out of his own side & was confessed to be flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone.

(e) Rev. 12. 10.

(f) Joh. 8. 44.

(g) But only among themselves, within the bounds of their own Jurisdictions, as they affirme them to be though without any ground or rule of true government.

both, of which tree you delight dayly to eat (h) finding it fair and beautifull, to gain conformity with your maker; in theſe your diſſembling ſubjects groſly profane amongſt us, but full of the ſpirit of your purity: (i) when they are with you, you may remember the brand your ſelves have ſet on ſome of them, the cauſe whereof was never yet removed, (k) though it abide not upon their backs (l), nor yet the cauſe of your commitment of them unto Sathan (according to your Law) for if that were removed you ſhould do them wrong in not reſuming your vomit into its former concoction again: (m) Nor are we ignorant of thoſe diſgracefull termes they uſe and give out againſt you behind your backs; Their ſubmiſſion therefore cannot be to any other end, but to ſatisfie their own luſts, not only conceived, but in violent motion againſt their Neighbours, who never offered the leaſt wrong unto them; only the propoſition of amity, is object ſufficient for theſe mens emnity. Even ſo the paſſions of ſin, which are by the law, having force in your members, (n) you going about with great labour and induſtry to ſatisfie them by your ſubmiſſion unto the Word of God, in your faſting, and feaſting, in contributing, and treaſuring, in retiredneſſe for ſtudy, and bowing of the backs of the poor, going forth in labour to maintain it, and in the ſpirit of that hireling (o) raiſing up your whole ſtructure and edifice; in all which you bring forth nothing but fruit unto death: Some laboring for a price to give for the keeping of their ſouls in peace, and ſafe eſtate and condition: (p) ſome to have your bodies furniſhed with riches honor and eaſe (q); and further then the Lord Jeſus agrees with theſe, you mind him not; nay you renounce and reject him, and with theſe (according to your acceptation and practice) he holds no correſpondency at all; being the conſultation and operation of that his only adverſary (r); Man being that which you depend upon, and not the Lord, crying out in the way of elevation, and lauding his Miniſters, when in the mean time you know not what, nor who, they are; profeſſing them under a mediate call of Chriſt,

(h) The tree of the knowledg of good & evil paralell'd with the wiſdom of man exerciſing it ſelfe in the things of God.
(i) That is, the ſpirit of painted hypocriſie.
(k) The ſin being ſtil continued in.
(l) That is, the mark which was worn to proclame it to all.
(m) That is, in not receiving them into the operations of that boyling Church-fellowſhip again, wherein they ſtil walked.
(n) Rom. 7. 5.
(o) Joh. 10. 12, 13.
(p) That is, carefully labor to pay wages to the Miniſter for that end either in way of contribution or elſe.
(q) That is the Miniſters and Magiſtrates ſtudy,

teach, and execute to attain ſuch ends.
(r) That is the wiſdom of the fleſh exerciſed in the things of God.

though formerly they have b en called immediately by him. Hereby ſhewing your ſelves to be thoſe which deſtroy the ſacred ordinance of God; for if you make Chriſt to be that to day, in ſtating of his Miniſters, which he was not (f) yeſterday, and that in the time of the Goſpel alſo (to ſpeak according to your law) to be found in them both; you therein affirme, he hath been that to his Miniſters, which now he is not; and to make the ſon of God to have been that which now he is not, is to make a nullity of him; Not to be at all: For he is the Lord that changeth not (t) no not a ſhadow thereof is found in him: So that you plainly crucifie to your ſelves the Lord of glory, and put him to an open ſhame (u) ſo that as you know not how Chriſt converſing with his Father in heaven is found on the earth amongſt the true worſhippers, no more do you know how in his converſing with *Nicodemus* on the earth he concludes himſelfe to be in heaven (w) with his Father; on this foundation hangeth the whole building of your doctrine, concerning the ſufferings of Chriſt, you annihilate the Croſſe, then the which the Saints have no other conſolation (x) and prepare no better a place then purgatory for the honourable Fathers of our Lord (y); for ye conclude that Chriſt dyed in the decree and purpoſe of God in the time of the law, but actually only when he hanged on the Croſs in the dayes of *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*, that he was crucified in the types and ſhadows of the law: But in the truth and ſubſtance when he appeared born of the Virgine *Mary*; ſo muſt ye alſo conclude that the fathers under the law were only ſaved in purpoſe, and decree, in types and ſhadows, but actually and ſubſtantially only at the coming of Chriſt in the fleſh: Therefore deal plainly with thoſe that depend upon you for inſtruction, as your anceſtors in the Papacy have done, and proclame a place of purgatory provided for them in the mean; without which your doctrine hath no foundation: for if you raiſe up a ſhadow without a ſubſtance, and the ſubſtance of him that dwelleth in light (z) without a ſhadow, you play the part of wizards, or Necromancers, not the part of true naturaliſts in the things of the Kingdome of God: So that as far as your men are (a) from being

f *Heb.* 13. 8.

t *Malach.* 3. 6. *James* 1. 17.

u *Heb.* 6. 6.

w *Joh.* 4. 23. *Joh.* 3. 13.

x *Gal.* 6. 14.

y *Pſa.* 22. 4.

z, 1 *Tim.* 6. 16.

a That is their ſubjects ſo far fetcht who lived among us.

being honourable and loyall ſubjects, ſo far are you from being voluntaries, in the day of Gods power (b) and from yeelding ſubjection to the beauties of holineſſe; ſuch alſo is your preferment rule and government in the things that concern the Kingdome of our God, they are infinitely beyond and out of the reach of that ſpirit that is gone out amongſt you, the capacity whereof can no wayes comprehend the bredth of the land of *Emanuel* (c) nor entreth it within the vaile: (d) Therefore it cannot know thoſe Cherubims of glory (e), neither can it hear the voice of that lively oracle, ſpeaking only from off the covering mercy ſeat, (f) and not elſewhere to be heard; we ſpeak not but what we know, theſe things are not of its Juriſdiction; therefore dumm in telling Juſtice; neither ſpeaks it any of that righteouſneſſe and glory compriſed in another circuit then you were yet made lords of: Therefore long may you boaſt of your Juriſdiction before you attain to *Juris prudentia* in theſe things, in that you tell us we offer wrong by a pretended purchaſe, you are as much miſtaken in the purchaſe as in the wrong; for it is right that we are about to do, neither is our purchaſe a pretence, but preſidentiall, not only in this civill reſpect, but may alſo admoniſh all men to take heed how they depend upon falſe and ſelf-ſeeking interpreters, when both themſelves, and they that have the viſion are ignorant of the contract and covenant of God (g): Thence it is that you teach, that the Spouſe of Chriſt, upon contract with her Lord, may conceive the ſeed of immortality and bring forth fruit unto the Lord, when as yet the day of marriage, that great feſtivity and ſolemnization of the conſolations of God, is not yet come; witneſſe your prorogation thereof, if not to the deſcention of Chriſt from heaven to the earth, to raign certain years, yet to the calling of the Jews, (whom ye your ſelves are, according to the fleſh) and to the deſtruction of that man of ſin, whom you ſo ſtoutly maintain: What is this but to proclame to all the world that audacious ſpirit of whoredome (h) profeſſing conception, and bringing forth before the Nuptiall day, in

(b) Pſa. 110.3.
(c) Iſai. 8.8.
(d) 2 Cor. 3. 15.
(e) Heb. 9. 5:
(f) Num. 7.8, 9.

(g) *Arnalds* ſon *Benedict* being interpreter between the *Indians* about us, & the *Maſſachuſets*, ſeeking to get ſome advantage againſt us by the *Indians* to blind the Country, as though they had a juſt quarrel, we ſeeing and knowing the falſity thereof, do apply the thing to their ſpiritual courſe they walk in.

(h) *Hoſea* 4. 12. & 5. 4.

that you conclude your clients right to ariſe out of four years poſſeſſion, we have no ſuch order, if you mean the right of conqueſt only held in that tenure, the true owners were never yet ſubdued; for that is the right they expect to injoy by you. For ſome of them committed part of their ſuppoſed right unto us, profeſſing it was that they might have help to injoy the reſt (i): But when they ſaw we would not be abettors unto them without, much leſſe contrary unto covenant, then they fly unto you for help, (k) their poſſeſſion being a meer intruſion, as all the Natives know, and ever exclaimed againſt them for the ſame; and ſo may our Countrymen alſo, whoſe eyes are not dazled with envy, and ears open unto lyes, as we know yours are, elſe you had heard both ſides ſpeak before you had judged; but we profeſſe right held in no ſuch intereſt, but according to the ground of covenant, only known in its nature in the parties twixt whom it is plight, in the poſſeſſor and the poſſeſſed, with the nature of all fruit ariſing from their accord and concurrency, together with their diſtinct, harmonicall, reciprocall, and joynt properties and operations of them both; ſuch is the tenure that we hold, and maintain it before men and angels, and oppoſe it againſt men and devils; nor in taking up unto our ſelves certain offices and officers, which we can teach children to be and to performe, and from thence preſently to conclude the poſſeſſion of the Kingdome, crying out our peace-offerings are upon us, this day we have payd our vows: (l) But that dark cloud that deſcended on the Tabernacle (m) becomes the light and glory of all Iſrael, there being nothing acknowledged amongſt them, but what ariſeth out thence; then, and then only, are the orders; as alſo the men of Iſrael derived from their true fountain, (n) which no tongue can confeſſe but is ſalvation (o), and then not elſe is the heritage of our Lord in poſſeſſion (p) yea even the wayleſſe wilderneſſe knows how to afford them an habitation, which had its being before the hills and mountains were borne [q] which men begin to fly unto for refuge to hide themſelves from the preſence

(i) As *Robert Cole* did, their ſubject now ſince that time ſo made.

(k) The *Indians* denying at that time a perfect & full purchaſe of that place where theſe their ſubjects had built houſes, called *Pautuxet*.

(l) Alluding to the harlot ſpoken of in the *Proverbs* whoſe practiſe is ſuch in ſpiritual things, as wel as there is a literal ſence of it. *Prov.* 7. 13. to 23.

(m) *Exod.* 33. 9, 10. *Nehem.* 9. 12. (n) *Pſa.* 68. 26. (o) *Rom.* 10. 10. (p) *Pſ.* 47. 4. [q] *Pſa.* 90. 1, 2.

presence of the Lamb [r]: This is a possession which no man can intrude himselfe into, it is onely covenanted with him through an inlightned eye and boared ear (s) which man performeth not, neither can it be received from him [t]: for we know that cloud of thick darknesse, that hides and covers the whole frame and fabrick of the work of God [u], to be the clearing and evidencing of every point and particular thereof, yea to us it is even that cloud of witnesse [w] which testifies to us the like work to appear, when ever the world hath occasion to make use of us: Never doth it shine but in the night, never is it dark to Israel but in the day [x] but in the one, and the other, the only glory and safety of all the tribes; but how, you know not, neither can you, with all your libraries, give the interpretation thereof, but have lost it in the wildernesse, and accordingly have made the whole way and will of our Lord, the oldnesse of the letter (y) both to your selves and all that have an ear to listen unto you; thence it is, that the day of the Lord is a day of darknesse and gloominesse unto you [z] but of joy and gladnesse unto us; yea it lifts up our head only, [a] and then is our salvation near, for we know the Worthies of *David* doubled about the bed of *Solomon*, which expell all fear in the night [b] handling the sword with successe, making the adversaries nothing but meat to feed upon [c], so that the time of your fear is the time of our courage and conquest; for when ye fear Error, Schism, Rents, and Confusions in Church and State, then do we know the messenger of the Covenant, the Lord whom we seek, is speeding his passage into his holy Temple; [d] For who (under the terrors of your spirit) may abide his coming, he being like a refiners fire and fullers sope?

In that you invite us unto your Courts, to fetch your equall ballanced Justice, upon this ground, that you are become one with our adversaries, and that both in what they have and what they are, and we know them to be such as professe the day of the Lord an unhallowed thing (e). Now if we have our Opponent to prefer his action against us, and not so only, but to be meet with in this life, *Isaiah* 41. 2. (d) *Malachi* 3. 1, 2. (e) *Heb.* 10. 29.

[r] *Rev.* 6. 16. For there was nothing done to these men that seemed to shelter themselves under the *Massachusets*, but only opening the Word of God amongst them, which is the revelation of the face or presence of the Lamb of God Jesus Christ.

(s) *Pro* 20. 12.

[t] *Psa.* 40. 6. *Gal.* 1. 11, 12.

[u] Alluding to the Tabernacle which it covered, and so applyed spiritually in the way of Christ.

[w] *Heb.* 12. 1.

(x) *Ps.* 78. 14.

(y) *Rom.* 7. 6.

(z) *Zeph.* 1. 14, 15.

(a) Meaning Christ, & not our selves, to set up flesh. *Luk.* 21. 28.

(b) *Cant.* 3. 7, 8.

(c) That is, all kind of incombrances they

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our Counſell, our Jury, and our Judge; for ſo it muſt be, if you are one with them, as you affirme, we know beforehand how our cauſe will be ended, and ſee the ſcale of your equall Juſtice turned already, before we have laid our cauſe therein; and cannot but admire to ſee you carryed ſo contrary to your own received principles; for ye know not how to find Chriſt as a ruling and teaching Elder both in one perſon, therefore he is not compleat among you (by your own law) except in ſeveral perſons; and you may thank tradition, elſe you know no more how to find a King and a Prieſt in him; and yet in your way of making tender of your Juſtice unto us, you know how to become one with our adverſaries, ſo, as if we deal with them, we deal with you; and if we have to do with you, we have to do with them alſo: yea further we know that the chief amongſt you have profeſſed we are not worthy to live; and if ſome of us were amongſt you we ſhould hardly ſee the place of our aboad any more.

Now they that have brooded upon their law to take away life, they muſt much more bring it forth in taking away all means of life, witneſſe your prohibition that no powder ſhould be ſold unto us for our money, and that in a time when you could not think your ſelves ſafe in all your own ſelfe-proviſion and worldly furniture, except you diſarmed a company of poor *Indians*, whom *Aaron* your Leviticall Sacrificer hath made naked (f) as he doth all thoſe which triumph in a Calfe, though the moſt coſtly and beautifull that the Jewels and Earrings of learning (either in language or art) can poſſibly bring forth (g); your own amazements upon meer rumours may teſtifie the truth thereof: ſo then we are judged by your law before our cauſe be heard or our ſelves brought forth under the liberties of it, which thing is well pleaſing to us to have our condition conformed to *Moſes* the man of God, who was dead in *Pharaos* account before he was brought forth (h); and ſo it was with Chriſt our Lord (in the dayes of *Herod* alſo) who is our life (i) at which you ſtrike and makes all things,

(f) By alluding to that bodily nakedneſs of the Indians, whom they diſarmed, ſhewing that ſpiritual nakedneſs which the works of the law or levitical Prieſthood brings men under,

who ever they be that are exerciſed in ſuch wayes. (g) *Exod.* 32. (h) For in *Pharaohs* edict and *Herods* alſo they were ſlain before they were born. (i) *Coloſ.* 3. 4.

yea

yea death it selfe lively, and advantageous unto us [k] ? we cannot but wonder that you should read the Scriptures and not find them fulfilled in and amongst your selves, when as they appear so apparently, that he that runs may read them; what think you of *Herod*, when the Lord had delivered *Peter* out of prison, and released him of those bonds, and brought him from that thraldome which he had so cruelly imposed upon him (to gain the favor of the Jews) and that by a power supereminent transcending the bounds of his authority [l] and by a wisdome surpassing the depth of his counsell and policy to find out, together with the souldiers and champions, he presently goes down to *Cæsarea*, and *Herod* is angry with them of *Tyrus* and *Sydon* (*Thumomathon*] *A heavy friend*, or hath a secret grudge or perturbation of mind manifested in an out-reaching and circumventing policy to subdue them unto himselfe that he might rule over them, finding himselfe fall short of power and policy to subject the Word of God in the messenger of it, to satisfie his own lust in his lordship over it, he pursues with all eagernesse to make himself a God by raigning over the bodies and estates of men, yea though they be but such as *Tyrus* and *Sydon* can afford unto him to make subjects of, and when they come to him with one accord to make offer of themselves in yeelding to his affectionate and politicall project, he sitting on the Judgement seat in his royall apparel, making his Oration of what power he hath to protect them, what wisdome and counsell to minister justice and righteousnesse unto them (which office belongs only unto the Lord); the people with a shout crying out, the voice of God, and not of man, the truth and substance of which cry, is, This is the Ordinance of God and not of man, immediately the the Angel of the Lord smites him; and he that ever acknowledged himself to be a worm, and no man upon the earth [m] consumes and eats up all his pomp and glory even as those whom you account the shame and contempt of the people shal through that Angel of the covenant waste, and bring to naught all those Rhetoricall (though earthly) Orations that are made amongst you by your so learned, studious, and experienced Clerks;

[k] *Phil.* 1 20, 21 *Rom.* 8. 28.

[l] That is, the authority of that wicked *Herod*. *Act.* 12. Chap. throughout.

[m] *Psa.* 22. 6, 7.

Take for illustration of your estate (as above) the speech of your Alderman, *Oliver*, in case of committing *Francis Hutchinson* to prison, one of your Church members wondring that Brother *Winthrop* would do it, before the Church had dealt with him (Brother saith he] why, he is thy God, man. Lend your eye yet further to paralell your practice personated in *Pilate* [n] and the people, when *Pilate* offers Jesus to the people to be judged, they professe they have such a law that puts no man to death, they are all for mercy and forgivenesse when they are out of the Judgement hall; but let *Pilate* enter in thither, then nothing but *crucifie him, crucifie him*, be their accusation and witnesses never so false; even so in your dealings with men, in way of your Jewish brotherhood, your law is all for mercy, to redresse, to reforme, and for the preservation both of soul and body; do but enter into the common hal, then as *Pilate* asked, am I a Jew? so do yee: do I sit or speak here as a brother? I trow not; I am now in a higher sphere then that [though they be acknowledged Coheirs with Christ] can attain unto; therefore if witnesse be brought in and oath taken, though never so untrue, your consciences are purged by law, and your power must have tribute paid unto it; so far, as mens names to be branded with infamy (estates) depriving women and children of things necessary, and the precious lives of men can extend themselves to contribute any thing thereunto, so that they professed mercy and clemency of your law to exercise censures only for amendment of life, and recovery comes unto this issue to send both soul and body down unto *Sheol* for ever, without redresse and all hope of recovery. But your hour, and the power of darknesse, is known what it is, either to have mens persons in admiration, because of advantage [o] or else to seek all occasions against them to brand them with all manner of reproach and ignominy; but for the truth taught dayly in the Temple, you know not how to stretch out your hand or exercise your ministery against it, least it become leprous, and you take it back again with losse, when it appears dryed and withered: and wherefore reason ye amongst your selves, saying we exercise the power of our ministrations against

n *Joh.* 18. 38. to 40.

o *Jude* 16. v.

againſt none but ſuch as are Delinquents, whereby we clear the innocent, and eſtabliſh peace in our borders; (we demand) what think you of thoſe two witneſſes propheſying in ſack-cloth a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore dayes, [p] thoſe two Olive trees and Candleſticks ſtanding before the God of the earth? are theſe guilty and vile perſons out of whoſe hands by the power of your miniſtery, you are delivering and releaſing the world? then indeed are your wayes juſtifiable: But if theſe be the juſt, choſen, and peculiar friends of God, yea, ſuch as without which his truth and righteouſneſſe are not juſtified, his wiſdome and holyneſſe maintained and upheld in the world, in point of ſalvation by Chriſt; then are your ways wicked and to be abhorred; for in your profeſſed courſe, you are they by whom they are ſlain and put to death, and all your glory is to keep their Corps unburied in your ſtreets, and yet you know not what you are doing, no more then you know what theſe witneſſes are whom you are altogether ignorant of; for your libraries never ſaw them (and you ſee not but by their eyes) [q] for theſe are two, and never more, nor yet leſſe, yea ever the ſame, they are Olive trees, elſe no witneſſes, and alſo Candleſticks, elſe both the former fail, yea, are not at all: we muſt tell you what theſe are, elſe we cannot declare how ye kill them: for it is not our intent to open unto you the houſe of the treaſures, the ſilver and the gold, the ſpices and the precious ointment, nor the houſe of our armor (r) becauſe ye take all as execrable, and put all to a prophane uſe, that cometh from us: But theſe two witneſſes are the life and death of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt [ſ] or (in the true language of heaven alſo) the ſtrength and the weakneſſe of Chriſt: for he was crucified through weakneſſe, but liveth by the power of God [t], This is the Word of the Lord in *Zorobabel*, not by an army, nor by power (and ſo deprives him of all ſtrength) but by a ſpirit that the greateſt mountain or loftieſt hill in the world cannot ſtand before, but becomes a plain, which with facility and eaſe he paſſeth upon: hence it is that he doth not only lay the top, or the head ſtone of all, but alſo the loweſt in the foundation, and

p *Revel.* 11: *Zach:* 4.

q That is, by what light they find in other mens works.

r *Iſai.* 39. 1, 2.

ſ Which comprehend his Kingdom and Prieſthood ſet forth unto us in *Joſhua* the high Prieſt & *Zorobabel* in their return out of *Babylon* to re-edifie the Temple; as in *Zechary* the third and fourth chapters. t 2 *Cor.* 13. 4.

then onely is the voice of ſhouting heard, *Grace, grace*, in the houſe for ever: and then doth the day of ſmal things become the day of joy and triumph, yea of parting the rich ſpoils and prey of all the world: for then he that doth but turn and lift up his eyes, he cannot look beſides that great flying book of the Curſe that is gone forth over the whole earth [u] without theſe two witneſſes joyntly uttering themſelves in every particular Scripture undertaken to be divulged by any, no evidence nor teſtimony of *God* is given or brought in at all, but a meer refuge of lyes, for the ſouls of men to betake themſelves unto (w) without theſe two pipes of the Olive trees, emptying into the bowl of the Candleſticks, no unction nor oyl at all is found in them, and that being wanting the light of the ſanctuary is gone out, ſo that the light appearing amongſt you is onely the light of *Baalam* whoſe eye was open, which you may read either *Shethum*, or *Sethum* [x], for that opening is nothing elſe but the ſhutting up of the holy things of God, ſo that in ſeeing ye ſee not, [y] but communicate only in the light of that beaſt who puts the witneſſes to death [z] as *Baalam* did in the ſight of that dumm beaſt of his, whoſe eyes were ſo opened as to ſee the Angell before him [a]: So that while you think it is our wiſdome to ſtoop unto you for light we never come amongſt you, but ſee our ſelves in a regiment of groſs and palpable darkneſſe, and diſcern you very plainly how you ſcrable upon the wall to find the door of *Lots* houſe and cannot [b], as alſo how you toil your ſelves to climb up into the ſheepfold another way yea ſo many other wayes, and have no ſight nor diſcerning of the door at all, by the which whoſoever entreth becomes a true feeder of the flock, yea none entreth in thereat but the true ſhepherd himſelfe. [c] Moſt impious it is to put to death two ſuch noble witneſſes that have power to ſhut heaven that it rain not in the dayes of their propheſying, to turn waters into blood, and to ſmite the earth with all manner of plagues as oft as they wil [d], whom that ſpirit that is amongſt you kils on this wiſe. The life and power of the *Son* of God as above [e], which is infinite, not admitting of circumſcription or conte-

u *Zech.* 5. 1, 2, 3

w *Iſa.* 28. 15.

x Which ſignifies either opened or ſhut, as in *Numb.* 24. 3, 4.

y *Iſa.* 6. 9, 10.

z *Revel.* 11. 7.

a *Num.* 22. 25. 27. That is before *Balam*, ſo that the beaſt and *Balam* have the ſame light & look.

b *Gen.* 19. 11.

c *Job.* 10. 1, 2, 3

d *Revel.* 11. 6.

e Being one of the two witneſſes before noted, or his power and kingly authority.

rent

nent, for the heaven of heavens cannot contain him; [f] yet have ye not dared to graſp and inviron that power in the heavens, and therefore have reſolved and concluded, that Iee only rules upon the earth in theſe dayes, by his Deputies, Lieutenants, and Viſegerents, whereby you limit, (g) and ſo deſtroy the holy one of *Iſrael*, for, give him, that in one time or place, which afterwards, or elſe where yee deny unto him, and you make a nullitie of him unto your ſelves, and in ſo doing, you kill the other witneſſe, namely the death or weakneſſe of the Lord Jeſus, (h) for you muſt have man to be honourable, learned, wiſe, experienced, and of good report, elſe they may not rule amongſt you; yea, and theſe things are of man, and by man, as, Peeres in that they only officiate ſo, as man may diſannull and take it away againe, witneſſe your change of officers, conſtantly ſpeaking for us herein; thus have you ſlaine alſo, the Death, or the weakneſſe of Chriſt, who profeſſeth himſelfe to be a worme and no man, [i] the ſhame and contempt of the people, and theſe faithfull and true witneſſes thus ſlaine, you muſt of neceſſitie deny buriall, and keepe them both in your ſtreets, [k] in open view, otherwiſe all your pompe and glory fals to the duſt [l] whence it came, and on which it feeds, [m] nor can you lend your preſents one to an other, of your acts of Juſtice, power to protect; wealth, honour, and friends, wherewith you gratifie one another: And where theſe are thus ſlaine, and their corps lye in open view, none of the Gentiles, peoples, tongues, and kindreds, ſuffering their corps to be put in grave, [n] there is that great Citie which ſpiritually is called *Sodom*, and *Egypt*, where our Lord is crucified: But after three dayes and an halfe the ſpirit of life, from God, ſhall enter into them, and they ſhall ſtand up, upon their feet, to the terrour of you all: Nor doe you thinke, that wee only inveigh againſt the great ones of the world, for thus doing; for wee know, that the greateſt of the Princes of this world, hath the very ſame ſpirit, wherewith the baſeſt Peaſant, hath laid himſelfe open in the view of all the world, and the baſeſt Peaſant, hath the

f 1 *Kings* 8.27 2 *Chron.* 2. 6.

g Pſal. 78, 41.

h which is his Prieſthood, wherein he deprives himſelfe of all power of man, or ſtrength or the arme of fleſh:

i *Pſalme* 22, 6

k *Revel.* 11. 8, 9, 10

l That is, if the power of God, and the weakneſſe & frailty of man ſhould not be ſo ſlaine, as to be ſtil kept as dead in ſight of all, then could not the power and glory of the creature, (as Viſegerent, unto the power and glory of God in his abſence) be ſeen ſet up, and made known.

m *Gen* 3, 14

n *Revel.* 11. 8, 9, 10, 11.

ſame ſpirit, with the greateſt of the Princes of this world,
o *Epheſ.* 2, 1, 2, 3. (o) Theſe wee ſay, are the two witneſſes, if you can receive
Rom. 3. 9. to 19. it (p) and what diſhonour is it to trade ſo much by meanes
p *Matt.* 11. 14. of witneſſes, and yet know not what a true witneſſe is, which
if you did, you durſt not attempt the things yee doe, whereby
you caſt reproach upon all the world, in that you profeſſe your
ſelves a choice people pickt out of it, and yet you goe on with
ſuch practiſes as you doe, maintaining them as your only glory.
q *Matt.* 5. 34. to 38. Our Lord gives you in charge, not to ſweare at all, [q] but
it is your dignity to bring men to your ſeats of Juſtice,
with nothing but oaths in their mouths; why doe you
not ballance the Scriptures in this point? It hath beene
ſaid of old, thou ſhalt not commit Adultery, but I ſay unto
you, hee that looketh on a Woman to luſt after her, hath com-
r *Mat.* 5. 27, 28. mitted Adultery with her in his heart already. [r] So alſo, it
hath beene ſaid of old, thou ſhalt not forſweare thy ſelfe, *but*
I ſay unto you, ſweare not at all: So that if it bee Adultery to
looke to luſt, it is alſo forſwearing of a mans ſelfe, to ſweare
at all; if one be Adulterie, the other is Perjury; if one be
admitted in ſome caſes, the other alſo; ſo that in preaching
the Toleration, nay the duty of an oath, you preach the tole-
ration, yea, the dutie of adulterie it ſelfe: So that our Lord
plainely evinceth unto all mens conſciences, not only the guilt,
but the folly and madneſſe of the oath of man, to ſhew how
farre it is from inveſting into place, or demonſtrating cauſes.
So that hee that concludeth upon honour and power, received
from the oath of man, or upon knowledge, and boldneſſe to
judge, in a cauſe from that Teſtimonie, without the which hee
could not have it, is as vaine in his thoughts, as if hee ſhould
hereupon conclude, I have now altered the frame of Heaven,
which is no leſſe ſtable then the Throne of the great God, or
demoliſhed the earth, which is as firme as his Foot-ſtoole for
ever, or made a fraction in the orders of *Ieruſalem*, that choice
and peculiar Citie of the great King, whoſe inſtitutions no
mortall breath can intrench upon, or to profeſſe his authority
and skill to be ſuch, whereby hee can make a haire of his head
black or white, *viz.* cauſe his age to wax old as a garment, or re-

new

new it with the Eagle at his pleaſure, [r] hereby doth man in this point of ſwearing, profeſſe his folly to be ſuch, that he is become not onely vaine in his imaginations, but to that pride and uſurpation therein, as to intrude himſelfe into the Prerogative Royall of his Maker, ſo that howſoever ye boaſt of the Ordinances of God, yet hee tels you, there is no more then yea yea, and nay nay in them; for that which is once nay is ever nay, in the ordination of Chriſt; and what is once yea, is ever yea with him, and according to his account (howſoever man reckoneth, whoſe accounts ſhall be called over againe) what is once the curſe, is ever the curſe, and that which is once the Principality and power of Chriſt, is ever the principalitie and power of Chriſt; as that which is once the principalitie and power of darkeneſſe is ever the ſame, what hands ſoever it commeth into: for manifeſtation, meaſure your Kingdome whether it be eternall, and your juriſdiction whether it be illimited, for hee hath given him the Heathen for his inheritance, and the utmoſt parts of the earth for his poſſeſſion, [s] and a Kingdome of leſſe extent hee profeſſeth not, nor can he approve or acknowledge any that do; no more then light can approve of darkeneſſe, or the Lord *Iehovah* of the lord *Baal*. Be wiſe therefore and bethinke your ſelves, while it is called to day, harden not your hearts, [u] as though you would make your ſelves *Meribba*, nothing but ſtrife and contention againſt the Lord; rather kiſſe the Sonne, if it be poſſible, leſt his wrath kindle, and you periſh from the way for ever: Oh bleſſed onely they that hope in him, (w) ſo that hee which profeſſeth on this wiſe, it is yea, I am a Paſtor, but it was nay; at ſuch a time I was none at all; hee renounceth that ſpirit of the true Paſtor, yea, the only Feeder of *Iſrael*, but profeſſeth that ſpirit only that puſheth the weake with the horne, and pudleth with his feet the waters where the flocke of God ſhould drink. [x] He with whom it is yea, I am a Ruler, but it was nay, when I was none, renounceth that ſpirit of him that rules in Righteouſneſſe, (y) profeſſing the ſpirit of him that rules according to the god of this world, that Prince of the power of the ayre, who is now working ſo effectually in the chil-

r *Pſal.* 103. 5

s *Pſal.* 2. 8.

u *Hebr.* 3. 15

w *Pſal.* 2. 12.

x *Ezekiel* 34. 19, 20, 21.

y *Iſaiah* 32. 1.

children of disobedience; (x) so also, he with whom it is yea, I am a Captain or chiefe slaughter-man; (a) but it was nay, time was, I was none at all, renounceth that victory, and slaughter made by the Captaine, and High Priest of our profession, (b) who as heis a Lambe slain from the beginning, (c) his victory and slaughter, must be of the same antiquity, professing himselfe to be a chiefe slaughter-man, or superfluous Giant, made in the Hoast of the Philistims, standing in readinesse to come out, to defie the Hosts of the ever living God, (d) yea, it is evident, whatsoever is more then yea yea, and nay nay, not setting each upon his base, whereon it standeth for ever without controule; but can remove, create, or make void offices and officers, at their pleasure, is of that evill one, (e) not of Jesus the Salvation of his people, (f) but of *Shedim*, (g) that Waster and Destroyer of man-kind for ever; * Know therefore, that it is the oath of God, which confirmes, and makes good his Covenant and promise to a thousand generations, [h] and it is the oath of man, that is, the bond and obligation of that league and agreement made with hell and death for ever; Be ye assured, it is not the Tabernacle of witnesse, [i] which you have amongst you, brought in by Jesus into the possession of the Gentiles, [k] but it is *Sicenth* your King, or the Tabernacle of *Moloch*, the Star of your God *Remphan*, figures that you have made to your selves, [l] which you have taken up, and are bearing so stourly upon your shoulders. Now to tell you what an oath, according to God is, that the Scriptures are delivered upon no other ground or termes of certaintie, where ever they are divulged, is a thing out of your jurisdiction, you cannot discerne or judge of it; therefore ac-

x *Ephes.* 2. 2.
a As the word signifies.
b *Heb.* 2. 10.
c *Revel.* 13. 8.
d 1 *Sam.* 17. 10.
e 1 *John* 3. 12.
f *Matt.* 1. 21
g As the word signifies, given in the Chaldean tongue for Devil.
h *Psal.* 105. 9. 10
i *Isay* 15. 18
k *Acts* 7. 44, 45
l *Acts* 7. 43
* Understand these things according to the true intent, that is, any officer that layes claime to the things of the Kingdom of God, by vertue of that, his office in that sence the truth of these things stand firme and good, and doth not deny or disallow any humane ordinance of man in this world, so it be kept in its bounds and proper place, for he that is a Captaine of the Temple, that is, exerciseth force of armes, for the helpe of the house of God, will ever with the Priests and souldiers, lay hands on *Peter* and *John*, to put them in hold, at the least if they preach Christ. But *Cornelius* is no Captain of that kind or kindred, for he is a Gentile of *Cæsarea*, and of the band called the Italian Band.

cording

cording to our Word above, wee leave it as a Parable to you, as all the holy Word of our God is, as your converſation in all points, as in this, daily declareth; in a word when wee have to doe in your juriſdiction, wee know what it is to ſubmit to the wiſe diſpenſations of our God; when you have to doe amongſt us, in the liberties he hath given to us, wee doubt not but you ſhall find him Judge amongſt us, beyond and above any cauſe, or thing you can propoſe unto us; and let that ſuffice you, and know, that you cannot maintaine a juriſdiction, but you muſt reject all inroads upon other mens priviledges, and ſo doe wee; in the meane time wee ſhall as wee thinke good be calling over, againe ſome matters you have had up, and had the handling of amongſt you, to ſee what juſtice or equity we find hath beene exerciſed in them, and redreſſe them accordingly, for wee profeſſe right unto all men, and doe no violence at all, as you in your preſcript threaten to doe to us, for we have learned how to diſcipline our children or ſervants without offering violence unto them; even ſo doe wee know how to deale with our deboiſt, rude, yea, inhumane neighbours (or if you will *Nabals*) without doing violence; but rather rendring unto them that which is their due: Nor ſhall we deprive a witneſſe of his modeſt teſtimony, for the out-cryes and clamours of ſuch a one, as ill-bred apoſtatized *Arnald*, that fellonious Hogge-*Killer*, being the partie to be teſtified againſt, or for the oath of any intereſted in the cauſe, [m] nor ſhall we be forward to come ſo farre to find you work [n] upon your requeſt, till we know you to beare an other mind, then others of your Neighbours doe, with whom we have had to doe in this Countrey, whoſe pretended and deviſed Lawes, we have ſtooped under to the robbing and ſpoyling of our goods, the lively-hood of our wives and children, thinkiug they had laboured, though groaping in great darkneſſe, to bring forth the truth in the rights and equitie of things: But finding them to be a company of groſſe and diſſembling hypocrites, that

m As they in the *Maſſachuſets* had lately done, to condemne the innocent, and juſtifie ſuch who otherwiſe had been proved guilty of felonious acts, even theſe their new made ſubjects, whoſe witneſſe of Courts in the peaceably together

ſhame they would not permit to appeare, but rather deprive ſufficient their teſtimony, at the guilty perſons requeſt. n That is to their *Maſſachuſets*, to imploy them about any matters of ours living ſo farre remote from them, out of all their Juriſdictions.

under the pretence of Law, and Religion, have done nothing elſe but gone about to eſtabliſh themſelves in wayes to maintaine their owne vicious luſts, we renounce their diabolicall practice, being ſuch as have deriued in their publicke Courts, that the Lawes of our native Countrey ſhould bee named amongſt them; yea, thoſe ancient Statute Lawes, caſting us into moſt baſe, naſty, and inſufferable places of impriſonment, for ſpeaking according to the language of them, in the meane while breaking open our houſes in a violent way of Hoſtility, abuſing our wives, and our little ones, to take from us the volumes wherin they are preſerved, thinking thereby to keep us ignorant of the courſes they are reſolved to runne, that ſo the viſioſity of their owne wils might be a Law unto them; yea, they have indeavoured, and that in publicke expreſsions; that a man being accuſed by them, ſhould not have liberty to anſwer for himſelfe in open Court: dealings of like nature wee find, in the place whereof you ſtile us your Neighbours, on whoſe unbridled malice, we find a higher then you putting a curbe, and yet in your account and reckoning we are the parties that are ſtill doing the wrong, and muſt beare the guilt in your moſt mature ſentence, in whomſoever the ſhot ariſeth, and abideth; but the God of vengeance, unto whom our cauſe is referred, never having our Protector, and Judge to ſeeke, will ſhew himſelfe in our deliverance out of the hands of you all; yea, all the houſe of that *Iſhboſheth*, [o] and *Merib-boſheth*, [p] nor vvill he fayle us to utter and make knovvne his ſtrength vvherein vve ſtand, to ſerve in our age, and to miniſter in our courſe, to day and to morrow, and on the third day can none deprive us of perfection, [q] for hee hath taught us to know what it is to walke to day, and to morrow, and the day following alſo, when a periſhing eſtate cannot riſe out of *Ieruſalem*, though ſhe be the only one, yea none but ſhe, that kils the Prophets, and ſtones them that are ſent unto her: Behold ye that are looking after, and foretelling ſo much of the comming of Chriſt, driving the day before you ſtill for certaine years; which ſome, you ſay, ſhall attaine unto, and unto the day of death for the reſt, ye blind Guids

o That is, man of ſhame.
p Mouth of ſhame.
q *Luke* 13.31, 32, 33, 34.

Guids, as your Fathers have ever done, so doe ye: Behold, we say, when he appeareth, your house which you so glory in, shall be left unto you desolate, it shall be turned into nothing but desolation, and confusion, for *Babel* is its name, [r] nor shall you see him to your comfort, in the glory of his Kingdome, untill you can say (blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lord) [s] when the authority and power of man, appeareth to be the building of *Babel* unto you, and the name and authority of God only to be that wherein the blessing consists, and that in such wise also, as is nothing but a way of reproach in the eyes of all the world; that a King should ride into his chiefe Citie, so strangly furnished upon an Asse, borrowed, her furniture old over-worne Garments, and accompanied with none but poore, meane, excommunicate persons, such as your Elders, Scribes, Pharisees, Lawyers, and all your credible persons among you make full account they are not only accursed, by, but also destitute and void of all Law, when you can find *Hosanna* in the highest, arising out of such contempt, and shame, then, and then only shall you sing unto him with comfort; in the meane time acknowledge your portion, which is to trust and stay your selves on the name of man, and in his beauty to delight and glory, which shall fade as a Leafe, and like the grasse, shall wither when it is fitting it selfe for the Oven; (t) such is man whose breath is in his Nostrils, [u] and the sonne of sorry man, in whom you have delight to trust, his power and policie brings forth nothing else, but as you shall see and heare, in the Countrey from whence we are brought; we are not ignorant of those shamefull lies, and falsities gone out against us, and the daily wresting of our words, to cast contempt upon us, [w] thinking to bow downe our backs under ignominy, and reproach, neither of the straits, and difficulties, they have cast us upon in the things that concernes this present life, to the taking away of the lives of many, if our God had not been seene beyond and above what their thoughts could reach unto, (as their owne confession hath witnessed) doing it in such a way, of painted hypocrisie, and false glosse, unto the eye

r That is, as the word signifies Confusion.

s *Mat.* 21.5. to 10. *Matt.* 23.37. 38,39.

t *Isay* 40. 7.8. & 1.30. *Psal.* 90.5,6.

u *Isay* 2.22.

w *Psal.* 56.5

of the World, that we might ſeem unto it, ſelfe executioners; we reſolve therfore to follow our imployments, & to carry and behave our ſelves as formerly we have done, and no otherwiſe; for we have wronged no man, unleſſe with hard labour, to provide for our families, and ſuffering of groſſe, idle, and Idoll drones, to take our labours out of the mouths, and from off the backs of our little ones, to lordane it over us: ſo that if any ſhall goe about to diſturb, or annoy us, hence-forth in our imployments, and liberties, which God hath, or ſhal put into our hands, that can claim no intereſt in us but by theſe courſes, (x) what their buſines is, we know by proof ſufficient, to be nothing elſe but that ancient errand of *Nimrod*, that rebellious Hunter after the precious life, [y] which errand of his ſhall be no more delivered unto us, in that covert cruelty, and diſſembling way of hypocriſie; but in direct and open termes of tyrannie, we will not be dealt with as before (we ſpeake in the name of our God) we will not, for if any ſhall diſturbe us, as above, ſecret Hypocrites ſhall become open Tyrants, and their Laws appeare to be nothing elſe but meer luſts in the eyes of all the world: And wherefore doe you murmure among your ſelves at this ſaying, thinking it is not a Chriſtian expreſſion? it is becauſe you are ignorant of the Groſſe of our Lord Jeſus, not knowing what it is; therefore it is, while you inveigh againſt ſuch as ſet up a Statue of wood and ſtone to bow downe unto it, and are ſo vaine as to croſſe the ayre (to uſe your owne expreſſion) upon the faces of Infants, when they ſprinkle them with water, to as great purpoſe, and in the meane time you preach, and ſet up *Seighnirim*, for your Croſſe, whom you fall downe unto ſo willingly, and leſt you let the word paſſe without expreſſion of it unto all, it ſignifies Horrour and Feare, which is the Croſſe you hold and teach, and by and through which you thinke to be ſaved, which name is given by our Lord to the Devill himſelfe, (as our Engliſh tranſlate it, and the Lord never gives a name as an empty title, but according to the nature of the thing named, ſo that if hee ſpeake, I have ſaid ye are gods, (z) of any beſides himſelfe it is to declare, that they have not only the name, but the very

x Knowing our ſelves to be free ſubiects to the Laws and government of our native countrey, and not unto any government extended out of its bounds and juriſdiction.

y *Gen.*10,8,9. *Jer.*16.16.

z *Pſal.*82.6,7.

very nature of the god of this world, and therefore he ſaith, they ſhall dye even as *Adam*, which aſpired and uſurped the place of God, and fall alſo as one of the Princes, even as one of thoſe Princes of *Midian*, whoſe carkeſſes became dung for the earth, (a) and he that gives that title unto any but the true God, that made heaven and earth, in any other ſenſe, but as it declareth a flat oppoſition againſt God, is *Reacting* that ancient ſpirit of the Serpent; if you eat you ſhall be as gods, [b] to judge of good and evill, for which all men are ſet up in that kind; even ſo while you tell the people, that by ſorrow, compunction, and anxietie of ſpirit, and trouble of mind, they communicate in the ſufferings of Chriſt; out of which condition their comfort is to flow, it is nothing elſe but to conclude, the Sonne of God to be *Belial*; yea to affirme him to be *Seighnirim* himſelfe; this doth he receive at your hands in your Miniſtries, for all your fawning upon him with a kiſſe, (c) ſo that if you will know how farre you are from communicating in the death of Chriſt, take it in this Parable, verily as farre as the weakneſſe of God is ſtronger then man (d); countrey men, for wee cannot but call you ſo, though we find your carriage to be ſo farre worſe then theſe *Indians*, we adviſe yon to take things together, and what God hath joyned, let none dare to put aſunder, (e) ſo that if you be aſhamed of the Croſſe in Baptiſme, be aſhamed of the Baptiſme alſo, for ſuch as the Croſſe is, ſuch is the Baptiſme: Therefore your Anceſtors goe beyond you, in that they joyne croſſing of the ayre, and ſprinkling with the Element of water together: But wherever Baptiſme according to the word of Chriſt is, there is the Croſſe of Chriſt alſo, [f] they can no more be ſeparated then his Scepter and Kingdom can, for where the one is, there is the other alſo for as they are coincident, ſo are the coaparant: So that if ever you ſee the Baptiſme of Chriſt, truly in uſe, and exerciſed upon any, you doe as truly ſee that party partaking, and communicating with the Croſſe and Sufferings of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to ſee perſons in ſuch eſtate, and conclude afterward they are worthy of cenſure, yea poſsibly to an *Athema*, *Maranatha*,

a *Pſal.* 83. 9, 10, 11.

b *Geneſis* 3. 5. For he that aſſumeth a title unto himſelfe, without reſpect unto Chriſt, in whom the whole glory therof conſiſts ſuch mind and diſpoſition proſecuted & followed to its height, according to the riſe thereof, ſets it ſelfe in direct termes of oppoſition againſt Chriſt, and hath that ſpirit of the god of this world.

c *Mat.* 26. 49.

d 1 *Cor.* 1 25.

e *Marke* 10. 9.

f *Matt.* 20. 22, 23. *Luke* 12. 50.

is nothing elſe but to conclude a totall and finall falling away from the grace of God, as your Fathers have done before you, for no grace greater then the Croſſe of our Lord Jeſus; Behold therfore you Deſpiſers the vanity and abomination of all your Baptiſmes, how prejudiciall they are to the Croſs of Chriſt, be aſhamed, and return in time, or he ſhal be a ſwift witneſs againſt you for ever, when your Repentance ſhal come too late; but you think the Croſſe of Chriſt is not but in bowing the back under every burden, and cringing, and crouching to the luſt of every man otherwiſe his *Shebet*; [g] is not fit, nor ſuteth it with your Regiment at all, unleſſe ſo ſervile, that every one may ſerve their luſts of him, to Wealth and Honour, Friends and Allies, by ſetting bounds and limits to the holy Word of God; ſome in the way of one deviſ, ſome in the way of another, and he that will not walke as a dumbe beaſt, worſe then *Balams* Aſſe, and ſay nothing, or elſe give a ſente of the holy Writings to maintaine that deviſed Plat-forme, if mercy muſt be uſed, not to hang and burne, yet baniſhment is ready wayting for them: Therefore ſhall you know, by the Rod of his power that comes out of *Sion*, [h] that he will be Ruler even in the midſt of his Enemies.

g That is, his Scepter, Rod, Staffe, or tribe

h *Pſal.* 110.2.

By us whom you ſtile your Neighbours of Providence, you have ſaid it, Providence is our hold, the Neighbour-hood of the *Samaritan* we profeſſe, and for the lookings on, and turnings aſide of your Prieſts and Levites, without either Unction, or Compaſsion, all your ſlaine and wounded in ſoule finding no remedy, doe plainely teſtifie the nature of your travels, and Neighbourhood what it is; your ſpeech to us in generall, not uſing our names, when as we know, it is particulars you ayme at, gives us plainely to ſee the word *Ælem*, [i] Revived and Living in

i the word *Ælem* ſignifies dumbneſſe, ſo that the Phraſe is, doe ye indeed, do dumb Juſtice, o Congregation? and ſo deſcribes ſuch perſons what they are that ſpeake not a word of Righteouſneſſe in their acts and executions, which Pſalme ſhewed unto us the ſpirit, practiſe and ſucceſſe of our Adverſaries.

you

you, as it ſtands with its Coherence, in *Pſalme* 58. *Verſe* the firſt, &c.

* *John Wicket.*
Randall Houlden.
John Warner.
Robert Potter.
Richard Waterman.
William Waddle.
Samuel Gorton.
Richard Carder.
John Greene.
Nicholas Powar.
Francis Weſton.
Sampſon Shatton.

* Theſe being the Purchaſers of *Shawo-met* the *Sachim*, *Myantonomy*, as he ſold it to 12. men, ſo his price was that every man ſhould pay 12. Fatham of Wamppum peage, that is, 144. Fatham, as our deed, which he made unto us being extant, witneſſeth to be paid unto him.

This Writing ſent to the *Maſſachuſets* we have related *verbatim*; only what is in the margent is added for explanation, and more eaſe to the Reader to underſtand our meaning which we ſent at the time when their general Court ſat; deſiring that all the Country might take notice of it, doubting they were not well informed how the Magiſtrates and Miniſters had carryed themſelves towards us, not upon what ground they had, or did proceed againſt us: But the chief of them taking the matter into conſideration, thought good to call an Aſſembly of Magiſtrates and Miniſters to conſult, in way of a Synod, what courſe to take uniting themſelves together that what was done by any of them might be the act of them all: and they peruſing of our writings, framed out of them 26 particulars, or thereabouts, which they ſaid were blaſphemous, changing of phraſes, altering of words and ſenſe, not in any one of them taking the true intent of our writings; but if they ſpake our own words, it was to ſuch purpoſe as this; as though a man would write the words of the *Pſalme*, and affirm (*there is no God*) ſuch words he may find written therein; but if he leave out this, *That the fool hath ſaid in his heart ſo*, he ſpoils the ſenſe, and

and in ſuch manner did they deal with our writings, and thoſe things they were free to divulge and make known amongſt the people: Theſe things concluded to be hereſies and blaſphemies before ever they heard a word of what interpretation we could give of our meaning therein: The Miniſters did zealouſly preach unto the people the great danger of ſuch things, and the guilt ſuch lay under that held them ſtirring the people up to labour to find ſuch perſons out and to execute death upon them, making perſons ſo execrable in the eyes of the people, whom they intimated ſhould hold ſuch things, yea ſome of them naming ſome of us in their Pulpits [k], that the people that had not ſeen us thought us to be worſe by far in any reſpect then thoſe barbarous Indians are in the Country, which ſome of the Miniſters have rendred unto the people as *Hittites, Cananites, and Pereſites*, urging it as a duty unto the *Engliſh* to put them to death; whereupon we heard a rumor that the *Maſſachuſets* was ſending out an Army of men to cut us off: but when they perceived we were removed further into the Countrey, and had left our Lands, Houſes, and Labours, where their pretended ſubjects, by meanes of whom they ſought for ſome temporall occaſions againſt us, lived, they thought it not ſafe to come out againſt us, having ſhow of nothing againſt us, but only our Religion; therefore ſeeing themſelvs diſappointed in that deſigne, wherein their Coadjutors, had wrought to bring them in, to make an inroad upon us, they then wrought by theſe their Agents, who traded for them with the *Indians*, to inſinuate themſelves into two, or three *Indians* amongſt us, to become ſubiects to the government of the *Maſſachuſets*, hereby with-drawing them from their lawfull and naturall Prince, *Myantonomy*; and the name of theſe his ſubjects, who now became ſubjects to the *Maſſachuſets*, were *Pumhom*, and *Socconomocco*; and when this was accompliſhed, then they againe ſent forth their warrants unto us, as formerly to command our appearance at their Courts, in the *Maſſachuſets*, and that without any conſideration or delay, at the firſt time of their ſending unto us after our removall, the Court being then ſiting at *Boſton* in the *Maſſachuſets*.

[k] As Mr *Cobbet* who cryed out againſt *Gorton* that arch heretick, who (ſaith he) would have al men to be preachers. But if he had turned his ſpeech againſt *Moſes*, who wiſhed that al the Lords people were prophets, he had far more plainly expreſſed the bent of his ſpirit, & what manner of zeal he had.

Here

Here followeth a true Copie of the firſt Warrant ſent unto us, by the Generall Court aſſembled at Bolton, *in the Maſſachuſets, after our removeall unto, and planting upon our Land at* Shaw-omet, verbatim, the Warrant *under their hand being ſtill extant.*

To our Neighbours, Maſter *Samuel Gorton, John Wickes, Randall Houlden, Robert Potter, Francis Weſton, Richard Carder, John Warner,* and *William Waddle.*

WHereas we have received upon good ground, into our Juriſdiction, and Protection, two *Indian Sachims*, whoſe names are *Pumham*, and *Socconomoco*, who have lately complained unto us of ſome injurious and unjuſt dealing, towards them by your ſelves; and becauſe we deſire to doe equall right and juſtice to all, and that all parties might be heard, we have therefore thought good to write unto you, to give you notice hereof, that ſo you might make preſent anſwer in the Generall Court now aſſembled at *Boſton* to their complaints, who are now here with us, to attend your comming: And becauſe ſome of you have been denyed the liberty of comming amongſt us, and it may be, others are not willing in other reſpects, perſonally to appeare, [1] we doe therefore hereby give and grant ſafe conduct for your free egreſſe & regreſſe unto us, whereby there may be no juſt excuſe, for with-holding you to give ſatisfaction in this particular.

They having baniſhed ſome of us five or ſix years before, and threatning, that if ſome of us were amongſt them we ſhould hardly ſee the place of our abode any more.

Dated the 12th. 7th. *M°.* 1643.
Per cur. general. Incr.
Nowell Secret.

This Warrant being delivered unto us, by ſome of their forenamed Agents, the Engliſh, we preſently returned them this anſwer by word of mouth, by their Meſſenger, telling them, that we being ſo far out of their juriſdictions, could not, neither would we acknowledge ſubjection unto any in the place where we were; but only the ſtate and government of old *England*,

who only had right unto us, and from whom we doubted not but in due ſeaſon we ſhould receive direction, for the well ordering of us in all civill reſpects; and in the meane time we lived peaceably together, deſiring and indevouring to doe wrong to no man, neither *Engliſh* nor *Indian*, ending all our differences in a neighbourly and loving way of Arbitrators, mutually choſen amongſt us: They receiving our anſwer, tooke it diſdainfully, as their intent was to take any we ſent, without our perſonall appearance, being reſolved what courſe to runne concerning us; whereupon they ſent us another Writing immediatly from the Court, to informe us, that they were reſolved to come downe amongſt us, to exerciſe Juſtice there.

Here followeth a true Copie of the Writing which they ſent unto us, verbatim, *being ſtill extant.*

To *Samuel Gorton*, *Iohn Wickes*, *Iohn Warner*, *Iohn Green*, *Randall Houlden*, *Francis Weſton*, *Robert Potter*, *Richard Waterman*, *Richard Carder*, *Sampſon Shotton*, *Nicholas Power*, and *William Waddle*.

WHereas upon occaſion of divers injuries, offered by you to us, and the people under our juriſdiction, both *Engliſh* and *Indians*, we have ſent to you to come to our Court, and there make anſwer to the particulars charged upon you, and ſafe conduct to that end: To which you have returned us no other but contemptuous and diſdainfull anſwers; and now at the laſt, that if we vvould ſend to your ſelves, that the cauſe might be examined, and heard among your owne Neighbours, we ſhould then have juſtice and ſatisfaction: We have therefore, that our moderation and juſtice may appeare to all men, agreed to condeſcend herein to your owne deſire; and therefore intend ſhortly to ſend Commiſſioners into your parts to lay open the charges againſt you, and to heare your Reaſons and Allegations, and thereupon to receive ſuch ſatisfaction from you, as ſhall appeare in juſtice to be due. We give you alſo to underſtand, that vve ſhall ſend a ſufficient

Guard

Guard, with our Commiſſioners, for their ſafety againſt any violence, or injury; for ſeeing you will not truſt your ſelves with us, upon our ſafe conduct, we have no reaſon to truſt ours with you, upon your bare courteſie: But this you may reſt aſſured of, that if you will make good your owne offer to us, of doing us right, our people ſhall returne, and leave you in peace; otherwiſe we muſt right our ſelves, and our people, by force of Armes.

Dated the 19th. *of the* 7th. *M.* 1643.

Per cur. Increaſe Nowell, *Secret.*

The next newes wee had, immediatly upon the receipt of this Writing, (being about our neceſſary imployments, in proviſion for our families) was this; that one Captaine *George Cooke*, with a company of armed ſouldiers, accompanied with many *Indians*, having Commiſſion from the *Maſſachuſetts*, either to bring us away by force of Armes, or elſe to put us to the ſword; which when we heard, we partly beleeved, in regard they had given order by publicke Court, long before, that no Gun-powder ſhould be ſold into thoſe parts where we lived, but only to ſuch as would become ſubjects to them, whereby the place was not only hindred of means of defence from a forraine Enemy, but alſo to furniſh their families with ſuch proviſions as the countrey affords: we hearing of their approach, immediatly ſent a Letter to thoſe which we heard they ſtiled Commiſſioners, which proved to be the Captaine, together with his officers, deſiring to know their intent, and what their Commiſſion was to doe in thoſe parts, ſignifying, that if they came to viſit us in way of neighbour-hood, and friendſhip, to cleare any matter or cauſe, they ſhould be welcome to us; but if otherwiſe, we wiſhed them not to ſet a foot upon our Lands, in any hoſtile way.

A true Copie of our Letter verbatim, *ſent to the Commiſſioners, as they were upon the way comming from the Maſſachuſets towards* Shaw-omet.

Shaw-omet the 28th. of September, 1643.

To certaine men ſtiled Commiſſioners, ſent from the Maſſachuſets, *now upon the way towards* Shaw-omet, *whoſe names we know not.*

WHereas you are ſent by the government of the *Maſſachuſets*, under pretence of having things ordered amongſt us, in way of juſtice, and equity, to be diſtributed unto themſelves, (conſiſting as they ſay) of *Engliſh* and *Indians*, [m] and that upon this ground, that we have given them an invitation to that purpoſe; Know therefore our whole intent, and meaning therein, which may not beare any other interpretation in a rationall mind; that as they invited us unto them, as Clients to have our cauſes tryed by them, and not as Warriors to fight with them, ſo did we, and no otherwiſe invite them: Miſtake us not therefore, neither deceive your ſelves through their or your owne pretences; for if you come to treate with us, in ways of equity and peace (together therewith, ſhaking a Rod over our heads, in a Band of ſouldiers:) Be you aſſured, we have paſſed our Child-hood and nonnage in that point, and are under Commiſſion of the great God, not to be children in underſtanding, neither in carriage; but to quit our ſelves as men; we ſtraitly charge you therefore, hereby, that you ſet not a foot upon our Land in any hoſtile way, but upon your perill; and that if any blood be ſhed, upon your owne heads ſhall it be; and know, that if you ſet an Army of men upon any part of our Land, contrary to our juſt prohibition herein, we are under command, and have our Commiſsion ſealed already, to reſiſt you unto death; for this is the Law of our God, by whom we ſtand, written in all mens hearts, that if you ſpread a table before us as friends, we ſit not as men invective, envious, or male-content, not touching a morſell, nor looking for you to point us unto our diſh, but we eat with you, by vertue of the unfained Law of relations, not only to ſatisfie our ſtomacks, but to increaſe friendſhip and

m That is, their united body which they ſo much delight, and glory in, conſiſts by their owne confeſſion of ſuch mixture of Members, as that part are Heathens by their owne report.

and love, the end of feaſting: So alſo if you viſit us, as Combatants, or Warriors, by the ſame Law of relations, we as freely and chearfully anſwer you unto death; not to kill, and take away the lives of men, but to increaſe wrath and horrour, the end of warre, in the ſoules of all men that ſeeke after it, where the peace of our God appeares not; and they that worke otherwiſe, and anſwer not unto this Law, they are not men of truth, but baſe diſſembling Hypocrites; ſhadowes, and abominable Idols, ſet up in the forme of men.

By us owners, and Inhabitants of Shaw-omet.

This Letter being ſent unto theſe Commiſſioners ſo ſtiled by them, though as yet unknowne unto us, by the hand of one *John Peiſe*, who lived amongſt them in the *Maſſachuſetts*, who having a Father in Law amongſt us, was willing to come and declare unto his Father, out of his tenderneſſe towards him, of the nearneſſe of the ſouldiers approach, and as neare as he could, the end of their comming, to perſwade his ſaid Father to eſcape for his life.

And when the Captaine, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners had read our Letter, they returned us this anſwer (by the ſame Meſſenger) namely that they deſired to ſpeake with us, to ſee if they could convert us to be of their minds, (bringing a Miniſter with them, to accompliſh their ends in ſuch deſigns) which if they could not, then they would account of us, as men fitted for the ſlaughter, and with all convenient ſpeed, would addreſſe themſelves for our diſpatch in the ruine of us, and of our families.

Here followeth a true Copie of the anſwer made by the Commiſſioners, unto our Letter, verbatim, *under their hands, which is ſtill extant.*

To our friend John Peiſe. *Having conſidered of the Writing you brought to us the laſt night, our thoughts concerning it, are as followeth.*

FIrſt it is our great deſire, that we might ſpeake with them, concerning the particulars, which we were ſent to them

about; [n] certainly perſwading our ſelves, that we ſhall be able through the Lords helpe to convince ſome of them, at leaſt of the evill of their way, and cauſe them to divert their courſe, that ſo doing they may preſerve their lives and liberties, which otherwiſe muſt neceſſarily leade to eternall ruine of them and theirs; for however, through an evill ſpirit, that hath poſſeſſed ſome one, or two of them, others are drawne into ſuch deſperate evils, as is monſtrous to thinke of; yet having better counſell, we hope they will be brought to ſee their weakneſſe, and repent of it, that ſo we might returne, and leave them and theirs in peace, which is our great deſire, and the contrary moſt grievous; but if there be no way of turning them, we then ſhall looke upon them, as men prepared for ſlaughter, and accordingly ſhall addreſſe our ſelves, with all convenient ſpeed, not doubting of the Lords preſence with us, being cleare in the way we are in: This being our minds, we intreate you to acquaint them with it ſpeedily; and if they ſhall, who have ſet their names to their book, doe come to us, and ſpeake with us, we ſhall give them leave to returne without hurt.

Your Friends and Commiſſioners ſent by the government of the *Maſſachuſets*-Bay into theſe parts.

George Cooke.
Edward Johnſon.
Hnmfrey Atherton.

[n] This Letter doth plainly declare, the proper intent of the *Maſſachuſets* in ſending out this band of ſouldiers againſt us, namely in the falſifying of our faith to God, to ſubject our ſelves unto them, (who never named the leaſt word unto us, as though they came againſt us in the name of the King, and State of old *England*, but in the name of the government of the *Maſſachuſets*) or elſe to pay the tribute of our Lives unto them, in the utter ruine of our wives and children, which theſe men having received in Commiſſion, together with inſtruction how to accompliſh and effect the ſame, from thoſe that ſent them, count it their glory to reveal, and make manifeſt the ſame, which the *Maſſachuſets* had ſo long gone about to hide, under the colour of ſome civil miſcarriage in our courſe of walking towards men, in regard themſelves had profeſſed, to remove into thoſe parts meerly for the liberty of conſcience, which now they ſo zealouſly deny unto their neighbours.

The returne of this anſwer from the Commiſſioners, as above, affrighted our wives & children, forcing them to betake them-

themselves, some into the Woods among the *Indians*, suffering such hard-ship, as occasioned the death of divers of them, [o] and others going to take water, to depart to other plantations for succour, the souldiers approached before they could take boat, who presented their Muskets at women great with child, forcing them and their children to runne deep into the water, to get into the boat for feare of them [p]; we betaking our selves to one of our houses, for our defence, they presently appeared in sight; *S. Gorton* being out of the house to convey his Wife (who was great with child) towards the water-side for her escape, espied them about Musket-shot from the house, the way which they came being full of wood; they were not sooner discerned but he called unto them, to keepe without the distance of Musket-shot, calling to his friends in the house also to stand to their Armes, for a band of souldiers consisting of *English* and *Indians* were in sight; so committing his Wife to some of *Providence*, which came along with them to convey her to the boat, betooke himselfe to the house with the rest. These our loving neighbours, inhabiting neere unto us in that Towne where Master *Williams* late downe, being deeply affected with the proceedings of the *Massachusets*, comming downe unto us along with them, to be eye and eare witnesses how things were carried at our meeting; who instantly urged the Captaine, and officers for a parley, who denyed to yeeld or grant any such thing, but professed they would fall upon us presently, unlesse it might be private betwixt themselves and us, and none else to heare it, professing to make dispatch of us in one quarter of an hours worke, [q] which we understanding refused to enter into

o As the wife of *Jo. Green*, as also the wife of *Robert Potter*, other women miscarrying to the losse of their children.

So also *Francis Weston*, through cold and hardship in prison, fell into a consumption, and in short time after dyed of it.

p The wife of *S. Gorton*, and some of her children, the being ready to lie downe in child bed, was so dealt with by the souldiers, the boat hasting off for feare, if one of her sonnes could not have swimmed, had been left behind her, so was glad to betake himselfe to the water, though young to recover the Boat.

q They had so animated, and incouraged the souldiers, yea, so incensed them against us, that they were loth to entertaine speech or parley, though they say in their last writing they came to examine cases of right and wrong which could not appeare without parley, nay some of their souldiers, picked out to be at the parley, professed to some of us, when they came to visit us as we lay in bolts and irons amongst them, comming in the night, not daring to see us in the day, professed in these words; When we came first to the ground we were madd to figlit, and to fal upon you without speech

parley or

or parley, but after we saw you, and heard you speake, many of us had rather have been on your side, then for the cause we came, and the Captaine seeing some of us discouraged to fight, would not permit us to discourse with any of *Providence* men, lest they should speake on your behalfe; and this we know, that some that did signifie unto them any small thing concerning the equity of our cause the Captaine seized on them for prisoners, and kept them in bonds, during the time of their aboad there, and much adoe to releale them, that they had not taken them downe into the *Massachusets*, to undergoe further punishments.

parley, unlesse our said neighbours of *Providence* might be present to witnesse the passages of it; but at the last after much affectionate urging, they yeelded to a parley; and foure of *Providence* men to be chosen out as witnesses, which we freely consented unto the mutuall choyce of them, and accordingly we met together; and we demanding of them the end of their comming, they pretended we had done some wrong unto certaine of their subjects, as also that we held blasphemous errours, which we must either repent of, or goe downe to the *Massachusets* to be tryed at their Courts, or else they had Commission to put us to the sword, and to pay themselves out of our goods, for their charges in comming thither; to which we made answer, we could not yeeld thereunto, that they that were our professed adversaries should be our Judges, we being so farre out of all their jurisdictions; but freely tendred our appeale to the honourable State of *England*, in any thing that could be objected against us, which they peremptorily refused: We then offered to put our case to arbitration, by indifferent men, mutually chosen in the countrey, ingaging our goods, our lands, & our persons, to make full satisfaction for any thing that could be brought in, or appeare against us; which Propositions seemed so reasonable, not only in the eyes of the witnesses, but also to the Captain and the rest, that there was a truce agreed upon, untill such time as a Messenger being dispatcht into the *Massachusets*, might returne with the answer of the Governour, and Assistants, during the time of which truce, they broke open our houses, and our desks, taking away our Writings, killed our Cattle for themselves and the *Indians*, whom they brought with them, to live upon taking

taking the bedding, with other neceſſaries in our houſes, for the ſouldiers to lie upon, and make uſe of, not only at that time, but afterwards in their trenches, during the time of their league, aſſaulting ſome of our friends, both men, women, and children, who only came to ſee us, in that ſad time of extremitie, hearing there was a truce concluded for a ſeaſon, indeavouring to cut them off, upon the water, (being in a ſmall veſſell) by ſhooting halfe a ſcore or a dozin Muskets at them, before they could get out of their reach, which they very narrowly eſcaped; during the time of this truce, the men of *Providence* (unknowne unto us) ſent a Letter to the Government of the *Maſſachuſets*, to informe them how things had been carried at our meeting, whereof they were eye and eare witneſſes.

A true Copie of the Letter ſent by the men of Providence, *choſen to be Witneſſes, of all paſſages in Way of our parley, to the Governour of the* Maſſachuſets, *in way of mediation for peace, to prevent Countrey-men from ſpilling one an others blood, it is here ſet downe* verbatim, *according to the originall Copie ſtill extant.*

Providence *the* 2. of the 8t. *Mo.* 1643. *ſo called.*

WOrthy Sir, let it not ſeeme abſurd, that we whoſe names are here under written, preſent you with theſe inſuing lines; we lately hearing read a Copie of your writing, directed to *Samuel Gorton*, and that company, as alſo ſome of us being requeſted by our neighbour *Cole* (your ſubject) and (all requeſted by *Samuel Gorton*, and his company, to heare and ſee) the truth of proceedings on both ſides, our conſciences perſwading us, that theſe deſires were reaſonable, and for ought we know, might be a meanes (if God ſo wrought) to prevent the ſhedding of blood; theſe things we lay conſidered, may (as before) cauſe our boldneſſe. We therefore being filled with griefe at ſuch a ſpectacle, that the *Engliſh* ſhould ſhed Engliſh blood, doe deſire to acquaint you with what we did obſerve, during that reſpite, that was condeſcended to, for

a treatie; therefore to proceed, after your Commiſsion read, *S. G.* his company did deſire to know in what particulars, you did demand ſatisfaction; the propoſitions being declared were foure.

Frſt to get them off the *Indians* ground, which your Commiſsioners ſaid, they had but intruded.

Secondly, for ſatisfaction about a Booke, wherein your Commiſsioners ſaid, were groſſe things penned.

Thirdly, for ſatisfaction for wrong done, both to *Engliſh* and *Indians*, under your ſubjection.

Fourthly, for charges, which your Commiſsioners ſaid, they had cauſed by forcing this Army.

Vnto the firſt they anſwered, that the ground was theirs, and they were the true owners, and that by the ſame right that you did clayme it, it being long before ſubjected to the *Nanhyganſet Sachim*, and purchaſed by them of *Myantonomy*, and (to take away all colour of claime) of *Pumhum* alſo, and they having quiet poſſeſsion of the ſame, untill this trouble; and therefore did conceive you had wronged them, by bringing an Army, to force them from their ground; your Commiſsioners pleaded, it was your right, by the *Indians* ſubjecting to you, and thereupon were very reſolute to take them off by force; which they queſtioned not but immediatly to performe; the other as reſolute, conſidering, they ſaid they had bought it, and vowed to ſtand upon their lawfull defence, though to the laſt drop of their blood, the reſolution on both ſides being ſo hot, that we thought immediatly the Battle would have began; they did then appeale to the higheſt Court in old *England*, for the tryall of their right, which when your Commiſsioners refuſed, they did againe offer to put it to the tryall of indifferent Judges in this Countrey, which were parties of neither ſide, and counted it unreaſonable, that force ſhould be offered before the cauſe were tryed, which they judged you could not doe, being parties in the cauſe, and promiſed to ſtand to the determination of thoſe Judges, to the utmoſt of their eſtates and perſons.

Secondly, being demanded by your Commiſsioners, ſatisfa-

ctioin

ction for the Book, wherein they declared groſſe things were penned, they anſwered, that they would put it, as the former, to be judged by indifferent Judges, both the terms, & ſatisfaction.

To the third, for ſatisfaction for wrong done, both to *Indians* and *Engliſh*; they anſwered, they would give full ſatisfaction.

Concerning the fourth, wherein was great expence and charges required; they anſwered likewiſe, as in the former, that they would pay and give to the utmoſt ſatisfaction, if the Arbitrators judged, that they were the cauſe of raiſing it, and would as fully and freely ſubmit, as to eat and drinke: Theſe being in ſhort the heads, we leave the more ample relation to your Commiſsioners; Sir ſo faire Propoſitions offered, we hope will worke your affections to the utmoſt end, of preventing blood-ſpilling: Nay, we hope, if it be but upon the point of honour, rather that you will be loſers, then take the utmoſt; the caſe we cannot but be ſadly affected with, knowing it will be diſhonourable to the Lord, if thoſe who profeſſe themſelves Chriſtians, ſhould not take the beſt means for peace; we hope you will not in the leaſt meaſure take it unkindly for any hint unto you; neither that you will deſpiſe *Abigals* counſell, for *Nabals* churliſhneſſe; let the Lord ſmite them, and his hand be upon them, if they ſinne againſt him; *If one man ſinne againſt another, the Iudge ſhall judge him, but if a man ſinne againſt the Lord, who ſhall intreat for him?* 1 *Sam.* 2. 25. Now their Propoſition is for man to judge, as that firſt part of the alleadged Scripture doth declare; ſome of their wives and children (if a mornfull Spectacle might move you) doe begge for a ſerious conſideration of their huſbands, and fathers Propoſitions; which if not hearkned unto, were like in mans eye to be left miſerable; we would they were able to write their owne griefe, which now in pitie we have reſpect unto: Oh, how grievous would it be (we hope to you) if one man ſhould be ſlaine, conſidering the greateſt Monarch in the world cannot make a man; eſpecially grievous, ſeeing they offer termes of peace: Sir, we know not how to end, nor what to ſay, we muſt abruptly leave deſiring your

wisdoms to cover our defects with love, and answer for us, if any shall challenge us, 2 *Tim.*2.7.

Chad. Browne. Thomas Olney.
William Field,
William Wickenden.

Here followeth a true Copie of a Letter written by the Governour of the Massachusets, *in answer to the men of* Providence, *of their Letter written unto him, in way of mediation for peace, which is here set downe* verbatim, *the Letter being extant under his owne hand.*

Neighbours of Providence,

I Have received a Letter subscribed by four of you, whom I hear are not of the confederacie with *Gorton*, *Holden*, and the rest of that company, wherin as Mediators you intercede between them & us, in the differences now between us; the return of the Messenger is so hasty, that I cannot make a full answer to every thing you have mentioned in your Letter; only you may rest satisfied with this, that the Commission, and instructions given to the Commissioners now at *Providence*, was not rashly and inconsiderately drawn up; but by the mature advise of the wisest and godliest amongst us, assembled in a generall Court, which I have not power to reverse or alter; and for the justnesse of the Courts proceedings therein, you may doe well to take further notice, that besides the Title of Land, between the *Indians*, and the *English* there, there are twelve of the *English*, that have subscribed their names, to horrible and detestable blasphemies, against God, and all Magistracie, who are rather to be judged as Blasphemers, (especially if they persist therein) rather then that they should delude us, by winning time, under the pretence of Arbitration; I doubtnot, but you well know, that we have often sent to them, to plead their title to the Land, and to make answer for their Blasphemies, and that we lately sent them safe Conducts for their comming, and returning, [r] for all which we have received from them, nothing but scorns, contempt, and revilings in the worst expressions they could cast

r Which was only words expressed in their paper formerly sent unto us,

caſt them into; ſo that the promiſe of protection made by us, to *Pumham, &c.* the vindication of Gods honour, and many reaſons concerning our ſafety, have neceſſarily put us upon this courſe with them; notwithſtanding which, if any of them will in peaceable manner, repaire unto us, under the conduct of our Commiſsioners, no violence ſhall be offered to them, by our ſouldiers there, and our juſtice here; but if they refuſe, and offer violence, let the hurt they receive be upon their owne heads; further (which I had forgotten) where you ſay their offer of arbitration is faire, you may doe well to be better informed, and to know that the botome of it is eaſily founded, which is to win time, to diſcourage the *Indians*, [ſ] under our ſubjection, and to give them time, and opportunity, to ſtir up (as much as in them lieth) the other *Indians* againſt [t] us; for to whom would they referre their matters? to your ſelves whom we know not, but have juſt cauſe to feare, in reſpect of your vicinitie unto them, and your now mediation for them; and to thoſe of *Road*-Iland, divers of whom we know too well, to referre any matters unto; [u] the beſt office you can performe unto them, is to perſwade them to attend their owne ſafety, by yeelding to the lawfull demand of our Commiſſioners, from which as I ſaid before I cannot vary. So I reſt

Your loving Neighbour,

Boſton 8. 3. 1643. *Io: Winthrope.*

ſ Fearing leſt the true and naturall Prince of theſe their Indian ſubjects ſhould ſhew them their folly in this their ſubjection, and to win them again unto himſelfe, and thereby leave them without this colour and pretence

t Behold here their guilt, in that they had unjuſtly drawn by inſinuation the Indians from their lawfull Prince, as alſo that ſubtill wrong they did to us, ſuggeſting ſecretly unto the people, as though there were feare of ſome combination between the Indians and us, to ſtir up ſouldiers by that means to come out againſt us. u Behold how theſe men can evade all faire Propoſitions to proſecute, and bring forth their own ſpirit; yea, even to the death of their countrey men, if it be but by caſting aſperſions upon thoſe that hold not juſt length and breadth in religion with them.

Now after the enterchange of theſe Letters, between the men of *Providence*, and the Governour of the *Maſſachuſets*, which

we at the preſent were ignorant of, when certaine dayes were expired, the Meſſengers ſent by the Commiſſioners into the *Maſſachuſets* to acquaint them with our Propoſitions, returned, which we perceived by their ſhooting off of Guns at his comming: And the firſt thing we diſcerned in them, they ſent out and gathered all our Cattle together, and tooke them into their owne cuſtody, ſending two ſouldiers unto us to give us notice, that the time of truce was expired, and that our Propoſitions could in no cauſe be accepted or imbraced by the *Maſſachuſets*; we then deſiring to ſpeake with the Captain and the officers, they utterly denyed to have any ſpeech with us; but immediatly intrenched themſelves, and the ſame day gave fire upon us; whereupon to ſhew our allegeance to the State of old *England*, we hung out the Engliſh colours, which they perceiving ſhot the more violently againſt us, ſhooting the colours many times, through and through: Now when the Meſſenger from the *Maſſachuſets* returned, comming through the Towne of *Providence*, two of the men of *Providence* came along to *Shaw-omet*, to ſee how things were carried, and what the newes was at his returne; and however the Commiſſioners would not ſpeake with us; yet the men of *Providence* went unto them, & had ſpeech with them, whom they warned to come no more unto us, upon their perill, for they were reſolved of their courſe; therefore who ever came neer unto us, they would take them for their enemies: For when the Governour and Aſſiſtants of the *Maſſachuſets* perceived that the Commiſſioners had declared their errand unto us in plainer termes then, then they intended it ſhould have beene; they thought to make the houſe we were in our grave, was the beſt way to vindicate the moderation of their equall Juſtice towards us, as plainly appeared by their practiſe, and courſe held concerning us.

Here

Here followeth a true Copy of the teſtimony of the two men of PROVIDENCE *who came to* SHAVV-OMET *at the return of the Meſſenger out of the* MASSACHUSETS verbatim, *extant under their own hands.*

WE teſtifie that upon the return of the Anſwer, from the Bay, the Captain refuſed the former offer of appeale to *England*, or Arbitration in the Country, with the ſaid *Samuel Gorton* and his company, but immediately diſſolved the truce, and the ſame day proceeded to give fire upon them.

Richard Scot
William Harriſſe.

And ſo continued for divers days together in their fierce aſſalt, the Sabbath approaching, we imagining they would not have continued their aſſalt upon that day, and were very confident that they would go about no ſuch work upon the night before the Sabbath; being we knew well that they held the Sabbath begins in the evening going before, and that they had no leſſe ground for it then Maſter *Cottons* judgment; as alſo that it was one of their laws that the breach of the Sabbath is to be puniſhed with death. Now what they may judge the killing of their Countrymen cauſleſly upon that day is, whether to keep or break the Sabbath, we leave to all men to judge.

But contrary to our expectation, early in the morning, having prepared their fire-works, they attempted to burn the houſe wherein we were, ſeconding their fire with the diſcharge of above four hundred ſhot againſt us, according to the Souldiers account, who afterwards told us how many ſhots they had made that morning, according to the emptying of their bandaleers; all which time they told us Captain *Cook* ſtood behind ſuch a great white oak tree, whom we heard incouraging his ſouldiers to come on with courage, thinking himſelf in ſafety, and ſo he was, for we diſcharged not a Gun that morning, nor

of

of al the time of their siege, but only two in the nighttime at random, to scar them from working their trenches neer unto us; for we had concluded to take away the lives of none of our Countrymen, unlesse they offered to enter violently upon us, which we only fitted our selves to prevent such assalt, or else that we were forced out upon them by the firing of our house; only we perceived our words to be shot good enough to keep them aloof. For we called cheerfully upon the Captain to come on and bring up his men; for he should find vs very cheerfull spirits to deal with, and that we would make him as good a Sabbath days breakfast as ever he had in his life; our care was only to quench the fire which they had laid to the wall before we were aware; But we saw the wind took the flame so from the wal that it kindled not upon the house; vvhen the day began to break Captain *Cook* called to the souldiers to go on with a fresh assalt; but we heard some of his Souldiers deny to come on again, being the fire took not; and the day beginning to be light they thought we might shoot from the house at some certainty; we called on the Captain to animate his soldiers, for we understood (we told him) his charret wheels began to drive very heavy, and were in danger to fall off, and that was all the violence we offered to our Countrymen in this their so eager an assalt, though we heard the Captain in the beginning of it, give strict charge to the souldiers that they should not let one escape alive, but to put all to the sword, thinking the fire would have taken, and so we have been a prey for them: But however we discharged not a peece against them, being loth to spill the blood of our Countrymen, though to the hazard of our own lives, yet were we well provided and could easily have done them much hurt; only stood upon our defence so, as they durst not make entry upon us: afterwhich assalt they sent back into the *Massachusets* for more ayd: But in the mean time another parley was procured wherein we consented to go down into the *Massachusets* upon Composition to prevent the spilling of blood, which we could no longer refrain in the defence of our selves, they having approached so neer unto us; The condition whereof was this, that we

should

ſhould goe along with them, as free men, and neighbours, as though ſuch paſſages had never been betwixt us, which the Captain and his Company conſenting unto, beat up the Drum, and gathered his ſouldiers together, ſeeming joyfull that things were ſo concluded; whereupon the Captaine deſired to ſee our houſe, which requeſt we lovingly imbraced, thinking he intended to refreſh himſelfe and his ſouldiers with ſuch proviſions as we had, before we ſet upon our journey towards the *Maſſachuſets*; but no ſooner was he come into the houſe, but contrary to the Articles of our agreement, he ſeized upon our Armes, uſing us as captives, and preſently carried us away, not ſuffering us to diſpoſe of any of our goods, that were in or about our houſes, having not ſo much as a ſervant left behind, and ſo left them all as pillage to the *Indians*, [x] the Captain giving charge unto the ſouldiers, that if any of us ſpake a word in our journey, to give any of them diſcontent, that they ſhould preſently knock us downe, and if they ſaw any of us ſtep aſide, out of the place deſigned unto us, that they ſhould run us through, and he would beare them out, in that their action: And withall they drove away our cattle into the *Maſſachuſets*, dividing and diſpoſing of them amongſt themſelves; only ſome of them they had diſpoſed of to ſuch of their ſubjects, as lived near unto us, who had been inſtruments and aſſiſtants unto them, to bring about and effect this worke. The number of cattle which they took from us was foure-ſcore head, or thereabouts, beſides Swine and Goats, which they, and the *Indians*, lived upon during the time of their ſiege, alſo breaking violently into our houſes, taking away our corne with other proviſions provided for our Families to live upon.

x Which they had promiſed to do as they came on the way towards us to incourage the *Indians* to come with them againſt us, in the hearing of ſome of our friends.

Here followeth an other Teſtimony, of divers of the men of Providence, *given under their hands, ſet downe here* verbatim, *for the clearing of theſe matters, which Writing is extant.*

Providence this preſent *January* the 30.th. 1644.

We whoſe names are here under written, Inhabitants of the town of Providence *in the* Nanhyganſet-*Bay in* New-England, *being requeſted by* Samuel Gorton, Randal Houlden, John Wickes, *and* John Warner, *with divers others of our countrey men, to teſtifie what we know concerning their late ſufferings, from the Bay of the* Maſſachuſets, *we take our ſelves bound in conſcience, to anſwer their requeſt, and in a word of truth, impartially to witneſſe.*

FIrſt, that our Countrey-men aforeſaid, were peaceably poſſeſſed of a Plantation, at *Shaw-omet*, amongſt the Natives, ſome ten or a dozen miles beyond this Towne of *Providence.*

Secondly, that the Bay of *Maſſachuſets*, ſent up through this Towne of *Providence*, one Captain *Cooke*, and his company, in warlike manner, who actually aſſaulted, and beſieged our foreſaid Countrey-men, who ſtood upon their own defence.

Thirdly, that the wives and children, of our fore-ſaid Countrey-men upon theſe hoſtile courſes were affrighted and ſcattered in great extremities, and divers ſince are dead.

Fourthly, the ſaid Captaine *Cooke* and his company, carried captive our fore-ſaid Countrey-men through this Towne of *Providence*, to the Bay of *Maſſachuſets.*

Fifthly, Their goods, cattle, houſes, and plantations were ſeized upon, by the fore-ſaid Captain, and his company; their cattle were part killed by the ſouldiers, and the reſt by Agents

from

from the Bay diſpoſed of, and driven away to the ſaid Bay of *Maſſachuſets.*

Richard Scot.	*William Barrowes.*
William Harris.	*Joſhua Winſſor.*
William Field.	*John Field.*
Stutley Waſtcote.	*Thomas Angel.*
Hugh Bewit.	*William Reighnalds.*
Thomas Harris.	*Adam Goodwin.*

Now as we paſſed along on the way to the *Maſſachuſets*, which was about three-ſcore, or three-ſcore and ten miles, in the common account of men, from our Plantation at *Shawomet*, after they were come into the Townes within their own juriſdictions, in ſome Townes their Miniſter which the ſouldiers brought along with them againſt us, gathered the people together, in the open ſtreet went to prayers, that the people might take notice, what they had done, was done in a holy manner, and in the name of the Lord; and when they came to *Dorcheſter*, there being many people gathered together, with divers of their Miniſters, as Maſter *Cotton*, and Maſter *Mather*, &c. there they placed us at their pleaſure, as they thought fit to have us ſtand; and made vollies of ſhot over our heads in ſigne of victory, [z] and when we were come to *Boſton*, and brought before the Governours doore, the ſouldiers placing themſelves and us, as they thought fit, and orderly; the Governour comming forth, walking throughout, all the company of ſouldiers bleſſed them; the word which he uſed as he ſtill paſſed along was this, God bleſſe you, and proſper you: God bleſſe and proſper you; [y] when this was done, we were brought into the Governors Hall, before the Governor, Mr. *John Winthrope*, unto whom we complained, how the Captain had

z A great triumph for a whole countrey, to carry away eleven men (and that upon faire compoſition alſo, if they had kept touch with us; which ſome of

for one of us, that is *Sampſon Shutton*, was dead before by hardſhip, their ſpirit had put him upon) and but ten of us that handled arms.

y We thought he did it to imitate *Melchiſedeck*, comming out to bleſſe *Abraham*, when he came from the ſlaughter of the Kings, in the reſcue of *Lot*, he did it ſo gravely and ſolemnly, only the Captain wanted the ſpirit of *Abraham* for all his good ſucceſſe, yet we thought he was not uncapable to communicate, in that prayer or bleſſing of the Governour; for his errand to us was, to utter and exerciſe the ſpirit of the government in his Commiſſion made manifeſt,

uſed us, contrary to our Articles; but he told us, what ever the Captain might expreſſe unto us, his intent was to have us as captives, and their captives now we were; and unto the common Goale we muſt goe, without either Baile or Mainprize, where we continued untill the Court ſate, and the Countrey comming in on every ſide, to underſtand the cauſe, why they had ſo proceeded againſt us; and they labouring to give the countrey ſatisfaction, rehearſed in the ears of the people, divers groſſe opinions, which they had compiled together, out of our writing, which we abhorred: As that we ſhould deny the humane nature of Chriſt, which they gathered from this, that we profeſſed his death to be effectuall to the Fathers, before the time of his incarnation in the wombe of the Virgin; alſo that we denyed all the Churches of Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe we could not joyne with them in that way of Church order which they had eſtabliſhed amongſt them; Againe, that we denyed all the holy Ordinances of Chriſt, becauſe we could not joyn with them in their way of adminiſtration; as alſo, that we denyed all civill Magiſtracie, becauſe we could not yeeld to their authority, to be exerciſed in thoſe parts where we lived, (that place being above foure and twenty miles out of their bounds) which we ſhould not once have queſtioned, if we had beene within the compaſſe of their juriſdictions, as it well appeared by our carriage, all the time we were amongſt them, as alſo by our ſundry appeals unto this ſtate, which have been denyed unto us; yea, and ſince that great favour granted, and given unto that people of *Providence* plantations, in a late Charter of civill government, from this State, our humble reſpects unto al ſuch authority, hath been made manifeſt to all men: not only in our unanimous and joyfull imbracing of it, but alſo ſome of us by the generall vote of the whole Colonie, have been choſen into the place of Judicature, for the orderly execution of the authority of the Charter; yea, ſome of us that are now here preſent, at the publication hereof: Now when we deſired liberty to ſpeak in the Court, to anſwer to ſuch things as were alleaged, and read in the ears of the people, ſuch as is above, with divers more to the

number

number of about six and twenty, all drawn from our writing formerly mentioned in this Treatise, we denyed that we either held, or had writ any such thing, and desired our writing might be read in open Court, that it might appear what was in it, which was denyed unto us; only their charges must appeare, by the affirmation of the Bench; for no other man nor woman appeared to testifie a word against us; and when wee continued to deny the constructions they had given of our writings, and abstracted from them, denying them to be ours, we were commanded silence; Master *Thomas Dudley*, one of the Bench, standing up, charging us to be silent, and told us if we were not, they would lay irons upon our legs, and upon our hands, and also upon our necks; whereupon the Court for that time was dissolved, no man objecting against us in the least, in any wrong or injury betwixt man and man; neither at that time, nor in any time of all our tryall amongst them. After which they brought us forth divers times before their Court, which then sate more privately in a Chamber, the door being kept very carefully, that none should enter, but only whom they thought fit to permit, their Court then consisting of about a dozin Magistrates, and about fortie Deputies chosen out of severall Towns, as were thought fit, and many of their Ministers usually present with them to assist in the worke; they then questioned, and examined us apart, to the uttermost they could, to get some matter against us from our owne mouths, and also usually sending their Agents as Elders, [z] and Members of their Churches, [a] unto us in prison,

[z] Old *Ward* once Lecturer at S. *Michael* in *Cornehill*, London, came to the prison window, and called to him one of our society, namely *Richard Carder* who had once lived near together in *Essex*, Mr. *Ward* seemed to be much affected, being a man knows how to put himselfe into passion, desired the said *Richard*, that if he had done or said any thing that he could with good conscience renounce; he desired him to recant it, and he hoped the Court would be very mercifull; and saith he, it shal be no disparagement unto you, for here is our Reverend Elder, Mr. *Cotton* who ordinarily preacheth that publickly one year, that the next year he publickly repents of, and shews himselfe very sorrowful for it to the Congregation, so that (saith he) it wil be no disgrace for you to recant in such a case. (*a*) Vsually comming to us into the prison, many of them together; As also, when we were put apart in the time of our examination, one of the Members of the Church of *Boston*, telling some of us in his own house, that he was perswaded, that we did not worship the true God; for, saith he then, he would not have permitted you to be brought down from your own Plantation amongst us; for (saith he) I am perswaded, that our Churches shal not be over-come by any people that should come out against them; his wife standing by, being an ingenuous woman, made answer to our content, before we could speak; Husband (saith she) pray doe not boast before the victory be known, it may be the Battle is not yet ended.

frequently putting queſtions unto us to get occaſion againſt us; thus continuing for the ſpace of two or three weeks together, during which time Maſter *Wilſon* ordinarily in his Sermons, preſſed the Magiſtrates and the people to take away our lives, from that text of the King of *Iſrael* letting *Benhadad* goe, applying it unto them; that if they let us eſcape with life, their life ſhould then goe for our life, and their people for our people, urging them from that of *Samuel* and *Agag*, to hew and cut us in peeces; Maſter *Cotton* alſo in his Sermons, incouraged the people in the lawfulneſſe of their dealings with us, from that in the *Revelations*, where it is ſaid, the Kingdoms of this world are the Kingdoms of the Lord, and his Chriſts, whence he obſerved, that they being the Kingdom of Chriſt, they were bound to goe out againſt all people, to ſubdue all ſuch unto themſelves as are weaker then they; otherwiſe they might ſtay at home within themſelves, and ſerve God with all their hearts; but they could not ſerve him with all their might, unleſſe they went out to ſubdue others, and ſo would be guilty of the breach of that command, *viz. Thou ſhalt ſerve the Lord thy God with all thy ſtrength.* Now after our many conſultations, and debating of matters with the Magiſtrates and Miniſters, not only in the Court, ſometimes one of us anſwering and declaring of his mind, only in matters of Religion a whole day together, yea part by Candle-light, beſides all their more private conferences in the priſon, and at other houſes, where we vvere put apart, in cuſtody one from an other in the time of our examination: at the laſt the Court ſent for *S. Gorton*, out of priſon, to appeare before them; and when he came before them, the Governour told him, he heard there was exception taken, that there ſhould be a rumour, that it was for ſome civill things they had ſo proceeded againſt us, and yet no man appeared to object the leaſt againſt us, in any civill reſpect; unto which the Governour himſelfe gave anſvver (not expecting an anſvver from *Gorton*) that they had ſet their ſubjects the *Indians* in their own Land, and that was all they looked after in that reſpect, but they never queſtioned in publicke, whether it was right or wrong, to take it from us, only

had

had privately called one of us, which was one of the Interpreters, at the buying of it, and the *Indians* their subjects together, to see what could be said in it, and found the *Indians* by their own confession, to make things so clear on our behalfe, that they thought it not fit to bring it into publick scanning of the matter.

The Governour then told *Gorton*, he was now to answer some things that should be propounded unto him upon his life, for it was upon his life that now he was to answer; unto which *Gorton* made answer, that he was to shew unto them all dutifull subjection that might be, being under the government of their jurisdiction, as he had done since his comming amongst them, to give them their due honour and respect to the utmost, which he could not doe but as he looked upon them with relation unto the State of old *England*; by vertue of which power, they sate there, as executioners of justice, unlesse he looked at them, and carried himselfe towards them, as they had respect unto that State, (from whom what power they had was derived) else he could not give them their due honour and respect; for it could no way appeare to be such, but as it was derived from that noble State of old *England*; and therefore, however he had according to what they had demanded, for the clearing of any thing, been free to answer unto them: So now if it was his life that they would now put him upon, he did as freely, and in the presence of them all, appeale to the State of old *England* for his tryall in that point, by vertue of which State only he conceived they sate there as Ministers of justice; and therefore might not deny unto him his just appeale (understanding that the deniall of an appeale, must either presuppose a superiority in them that deny it, or an equality at the least, with the State appealed unto) unto which the Governour made answer, as also Master *John Indicote*, deputy Governour, and bad *Gorton* never dream, or think of any such thing, for no appeale should be granted unto him.

Now the Ministers and Magistrates, having weighed better our Writings, our Examinations in Court, answers to questions

more

more privately, with any thing, ſpoken in the priſon amongſt our ſelves, which daily ear was lent unto, or our carriage and demeanure in any reſpect; they had now ſummed up, and drawn all into four queſtions, which were now to be anſwered in caſe of life and death.

The Queſtions were theſe that here follow, not a word varying in any one of them.

1. Q. Whether the Fathers, who dyed before Chriſt was born of the *Virgin Mary*, were juſtified and ſaved only by the blood which he ſhed, and the death which he ſuffered after his incarnation.

2. Q. Whether the only price of our Redemption, were not the death of Chriſt upon the Croſſe, with the reſt of his ſufferings, and obedienees in the time of his life here after he was borne of the *Virgin Mary*.

3. Q. Who is that God whom he thinks we ſerve.

4. Q. What he means, when he ſaith, *We worſhip the Star of our God Remphan, Chion, Molech.*

To theſe four queſtions the Court told *Gorton* he muſt anſwer ſpeedily upon life and death, and that under his hand writing; he told them he was not willing to anſwer in any thing but as before he had done; they told him he muſt give in ſpeedy anſwer under his hand writing; he asked what time he muſt have for the anſwer of them; they told him a quarter of an houre; he told them he could anſwer them in ſo ſhort a time, but he knew not whether it could give them ſatisfaction; for it was as much as for a man *to deſcribe Ieſus Chriſt what he is*, and the way *of Antichriſt alſo*, which might be done in few words; but not to be clear to every man; for a man may deſcribe the whole world in theſe words; *in the beginning God created heaven and earth, and the earth was without forme and void, and darkeneſſe was upon the face of the deep, and the ſpirit of God moved upon the face of the waters*; all the whole worke of creation is in this maſſe or heape; but to ſet out the glory

glory and beauty that comes out of this, needs many Phraſes to expreſſe it; even ſo it is in the deſcription of *the Son of God, Ieſus Chriſt, borne of the Virgin*, it may be done in few words; but to lay out the *nature, benefit, and glory of it*, no ſmal ſpeech, or time can ſerve to expreſſe: and therefore deſired in word (as before he had manifeſted his mind unto them) ſo he might give that preſent anſwer which God gave unto him in this point alſo; but they told him it muſt be done in writing, and ſo commanded the Goaler to convey him to an other room to diſpatch the ſame; but as he was going out from them, they called unto him, and told him he ſhould have the liberty of halfe an hours time to performe it in; when he was come into an other room, pen, inke and paper being brought unto him, as he was going to write, word was ſent from the Court, that if it was brought in, on the ſecond day in the morning, it ſhould ſuffice, for the Court conſidering of it, that many of them had farre home, and it being the day of Preparation for the Sabbath (for it was now Saturday in the afternoon) and they thought not fit to ſit any longer; ſo *Gorton* was conveyed againe into the Priſon to the reſt of his friends; who continued cheerfully together, all the Sabbath day, as they had done before in the Priſon; only ſome part of thoſe dayes, they brought us forth unto their Congregations, to hear their Sermons, of *occido* and *occidio*, which was meat not to be digeſted, but only by the heart or ſtomacke of an *Oſtrich*: But upon the Munday morning, *Gorton* tooke pen and inke, and writ in anſwer to every one of the four queſtions given unto him, as here followeth.

This is a true Copie of anſwers, given to the Court of the Maſſachuſets *to the four queſtions, which they required to be anſwered in writing upon life, and death, in caſe of Blaſphemy, which We were charged With, and ſentence ſo farre paſſed, as to take away our lives by the ſword, in caſe of not diſclayming of our Religion, or erroneous opinions, as they Were pleaſed to call them; the anſwers are truly ſet down,* verbatim.

TO the firſt queſtion we anſwer affirmatively (only aſſuming the liberty of our explanation) namely, *The Fathers Who dyed before Chriſt Was borne of the Virgin* Mary, *Were juſtified and ſaved, only by the blood which he ſhed, and the death Which he ſuffered,* [b] in *and after his Incarnation* (that is

b Note, that in this anſwer there is a word added to their queſtion, which was done of purpoſe (knowing how they looked) to regulate them, it it were poſſible, as it was declared unto them, in the firſt reading of the anſwer, how they fell ſhort in it, which they yeelded unto; they ſay, the death which he ſuffered (after) his incarnation, the anſwer ſaith (In) and after his incarnation. For to ſpeake of the ſufferings of Chriſt, after his incarnation, without reſpect unto that which was before, we may as well ſpeake of his ſufferings before his incarnation, without reſpect to that which is after; for the Croſſe of Chriſt is not, but with reſpect, both to humane nature and divine, and we cannot know the two natures in Chriſt, what they are diſtinctly in themſelves, to give each its proper due, and what they are joyntly united in one, no otherwiſe, but as they are conſidered in the very act of Incarnation, in which appears the Sufferer, and that which is ſuffered, the Sufferer is the Son of God made man, the creator becoms a creature; the thing ſuffered, is to be made a curſe, that is to be made ſuch a thing as is in it ſelfe, by nature accurſed, and ſo Chriſt was made a curſe; the ſufferings of Chriſt then, and the ſhedding of his blood (as he is known after the ſpirit) are properly in that one act of his incarnation, which is the proper act of the humiliation of the Son of God, ſo that to ſpeak of his ſufferings after his incarnation, you may as well ſpeake of his ſufferings before his incarnation, for it is no ſuffering of Chriſt, but with reſpect, both to the one, and the other, and only in the act of incarnation they are made one; and to ſpeake of the ſufferings of Chriſt viſibly, in his humane nature, in the dayes of *Herod*, to be the proper ſufferings of the Son of God, any further, but as a true doctrine (as in all other holy Writ) to teach what that ſuffering is, in the act of his incarnation, you may as well ſpeak of ſufferings of Chriſt inviſibly, before that act of his incarnation, for the Croſſe of Chriſt is not, but with reſpect, both to divine and humane nature; nor can it be ſaid to be in time, no more then it may be ſaid to be before al time; for the humiliation of the Son of God, admits not of any bounds or limits, for then were it not of infinit value; and if not of infinit value and vertue, then not the humiliation of the Son of God, nor could it be ſaid to be the blood of God, as the Apoſtle cals it; ſo that as he himſelfe is not, but as the firſt and the laſt become one, even ſo his ſufferings are not, but in that one act, of the curſe

and

and bleeding, being made one. This being premiſed which was ſignified unto them by word of mouth, the anſwer runs clear, to underſtand Chriſt according to the ſpirit, otherwiſe a man may carnalize the anſwer unto himſelfe as he knows Chriſt after the fleſh, as the world doth the whole word of God, ſo alſo the ſeed of *Abraham*, is to be underſtood as *Abraham* himſelfe is; *Abraham* is the Father of Chriſt, as in the Genealogy it appears; ſo ſaith *David* in the perſon of Chriſt, our Fathers truſted in thee, meaning *Abraham* for one, and Chriſt alſo is the Father of *Abraham*, therefore hee is called the everlaſting father; and Chriſt himſelfe ſaith, before *Abraham* was I am, ſuch alſo is the ſeed of *Abraham*, it produceth and brings forth the Son of God, and the Son of God produceth and brings forth it; ſo is it with the Virgin, the is the mother that gives form, and being to Jeſus Chriſt, he alſo gives form and being unto her; therefore ſhe cals him her Lord and Saviour; the woman brings forth the man, a Virgin conceives and bears a Son; the man brings forth the woman, made of a rib, out of his innocent ſide; ſo that the man is not without the woman, nor the woman without the man in the Lord; theſe two being ſeparated, the Contract is broken, the Devorce is made, and not being rightly united, the word is adulterated, we are in our ſin. The myſterie of this anſwer then lies in this, (which Phariſies underſtand not) if Chriſt be the Virgin *Maries* Son, conceived in her womb, and born of her, how doth the Virgin *Mary* in ſpirit call him her Lord God, and Saviour?

on this wiſe; that the guilt and ſtain of man is not, but with reſpect unto the holy word of God, the diſobedience whereof, *by eating the forbidden fruit, breeds an infinit diſtance, betweene God and his owne Worke, without the leaſt defect or blame to be found or imputed unto the Word of God*, but the ſole defect and blame is in the creature, *even in man himſelfe*, yet could he in no caſe be ſo miſerable, but with reſpect unto the holy Word; even ſo the juſtification and ſalvation of the Fathers, was by the holy word of God, *not but with reſpect and relation unto the ſeed of* Abraham, *and the Son of* David, (*conceived and borne of the Virgin* Mary) *in whom they were juſtified and ſaved*, and yet no vertue nor power, ariſing out of any thing that is humane; man therefore is a ſinner of infinit guilt, with reſpect unto that word, which was before all time, and no fault to be found in the Word at all; the word of God is a Saviour of infinit value, with reſpect unto the ſeed of the Virgin *Mary*, borne, ſuffering, dying, and riſing againe in the fulneſſe of time, and yet no vertue in that ſeed at all, *unto whom all the Prophets bear witneſſe*, having an eye unto him in all their holy Writings, and the faith of the Fathers comprehending Chriſt, both in the one, and in the other reſpect, *were juſtified and ſaved by him alone*, his death being reall and actuall unto faith, God having the ſame coexiſtance

with the creature in all ages, though the creature cannot have the same with him but in time.

To the second Question depending upon, or rather involved in the former we answer.

Mans rejection of the Word of God, being his sinne and separation from God, is the only forfeiture of himselfe, *which could not be, but with respect unto the word of eternity*; even so Gods Righteousnesse revealed by taking man into unitie with himselfe, *is the only price of our Redemption*, with respect unto the death of Christ upon the Crosse, with the rest of his sufferings, and obedience, from the time of his Incarnation, in the womb of the Virgin *Mary*, to his ascention into Heaven, without which there is no price of our Redemption.

To the third Question, who we thinke that God is, that men serve, that are not of the faith above said: we answer that all mens hearts are awed (by the true God) to bow in worship: therefore when the Apostle looking upon the inscription upon the Altar at *Athens*, it is said, *he beheld their devotion* (or as the word is) *the God which they worshipped, though ignorantly*, yet it was he only *that he declared unto them*: So the Apostle *Iames, thou beleevest, that there is one God, thou doest well, the Devils also beleeve and tremble.*

The fourth Question therfore is the explanation of the third, namely what we mean *by Moloch, and the Star of that God Remphan*: to which we answer, that the Scripture alluded unto, * makes difference between those Gain-sayers of the Fathers *which fell in the Wildernesse*, and those of the true seed, *that gave faithfull Testimony unto the Oracle of God*; the Rebels of the sons of *Levy*, would not take up, *nor beare the Arke of God*, as their duty was, *nor give the light and lustre of a Star in the Tabernacle*, when it was pitched (*for the seven Stars are the seven Angels*:) But as they had the power of a worldly Ruler, or Governour to defend them in their worke, and to subdue all that were not of their mind under them: therefore *they tooke up the Tabernacle of Moloch, or bore the Booth of the King, and gave the light of Remphan* (alluding unto *Rapha*, who in *Davids* dayes had four sonnes, were mighty Gyants, warring only by the strength *of*

Act. 7. 43.

the

the Arme of flesh) so that they would not give Testimony unto the holy way of God; *but as they had a King set over them*, besides *Moses*, to defend them, *when as a greater then* Moses *was there: And in this they turned backe in their hearts, unto Ægypt*, looking unto the way of *Pharaoh*, that would subdue all that were not of his own way, and be a defence unto his *wise men in what ever they wrought*; but the faithfull seed of *Abraham, had the Tabernacle of witnesse, or witnessed unto the Tabernacle*, even in the Wildernesse, where there was no worldly Governour to defend them, but all came out against them, *Ammon* and *Amaleck*, *Balack*, *Ogg*, and *Sihon*, and the rest; in the which condition *Stephen perceived himselfe*, when he witnessed unto the word of truth, in alleadging that place of the Prophet *. *Samuel Gorton.* Amos 5.26

Upon the finishing of these answers on the Munday morning, the Court sent for *S. Gorton* to come before them; and when he was come, the Governor asked him, whether he had brought in his answer to the questions propounded unto him (at their last sitting) in writing, he answered he had brought them; then the Governor asked him, whether he had put his hand unto them, he answered he had not, not thinking it would be required, else he had done it; the Governour called for pen and inke, and caused him to put his hand unto them, and then demanded them of him, *Gorton* desired he might have liberty to read them first in the Court, that he might pronounce the Phrases and words according to the true meaning, and intent, having had experience of wrong done, in reading (in way of pronunciation of things not plainly) before, to the giving of true intelligence to the hearers, when the answers were read in the audience of the Court, the Court paused, and no man said any thing unto them, only bade *Gorton* with-draw, which being done, they hade some consultation among themselvs, and shortly after called for *Gorton* to be brought in again: Master *Saltingstone* found fault, that it was written in the answer, what is the Star of (*that*) God *Remphan*, whereas it was in the writing (*your, God Remphan*) *Gorton* answered, the Phrase was only changed for modesty; for indeed (saith he) it is the

phraſe of the Apoſtle, *your God Remphan*, and ſo it reſted to clear that ſcruple. The Governour told *Gorton*, that they were one with him, in thoſe anſwers; for they held as he did; *Gorton* anſwered he was very glad of it, for he loved not differences and diviſions amongſt men: the Governour then asked him whether he would retract the writing that was formerly written unto them; *Gorton* anſwered, that nothing was written before, but would ſuit and agree, with theſe anſwers; ſo that if there was cauſe to retract one, there was cauſe to retract all; the Governour ſaid, no, theſe anſwers they could agree with him in; but not in the former writing; whereupon Maſter *Dudley* ſtood up, ſeeming to be much moved, and ſaid he would never conſent to it whilſt he lived, that they were one with him in thoſe anſwers; the Governour then asked *Gorton what Faith was:* to which he anſwered, that was nothing that concerned what they had formerly written, and that he and the reſt had only undertaken to anſwer to any thing that was in their writing: the Governour told him, he was bound, and ought to be ready to give an anſwer to any that ſhould aske him a queſtion of the hope that is in him; *Gorton* made anſwer, that the diſinition which the Apoſtle gives of faith, was ſufficient, as he thought to give any man ſatisfaction; he asked him what that was, he told him it was this; *that faith is the* hypoſtaſis *or ſubſiſtance of things that are hoped for, and the evidence* (*or argument demonſtrative*) *of things that are not ſeen, nor demonſtrated at all*; the Governour told him that was true, but he could ſay more of faith then ſo; *Gorton* told him, it gave him ſatisfaction, and being an other point then they had had to deale about, ſince their comming amongſt them, and being no queſtion produced from former writings, deſired to be ſpared from any further anſwer then the plain words of the Apoſtle; whereupon Maſter *Broadſtreet* made anſwer, that he thought it was not fit to put him upon any new queſtions, unleſſe he were free to ſpeake unto them, and ſo they diſmiſſed him from the Court to the Priſon againe.

Shortly after this, there was a day appointed, wherein wee were

were to receive our ſentence from the Court, which was to be given in the afternoon, and in the forenoon Maſter *Cotton* preached, having gathered up the minds of the people, in what they had obſerved, and perceiving the people took notice, that in what we diſſented from them, was out of tenderneſſe of conſcience, and were ready to render a reaſon and ground for what we held and practiſed, & divers ſuch like things; to which he anſwered, that if we had done it out of ignorance, then there had been hopes of regaining us; but if out of tenderneſſe of conſcience, and able to render reaſon for what wee did (*and other things of like nature*) *then were we ripened for death*, urging them to agree together, and conſent in one thing, that ſo it might be, *elſe would not the Angels carry their ſoules to heaven*; for he was then ſpeaking of the office of the Angels in that point; and when by all their *examinations* in Court, *Inturgatories* put upon us in Priſon, and publicke *preaching*, they could find nothig againſt us, for the tranſgreſſing of any of their Lawes, *they then proceeded to caſt a lot for our lives*, putting it to the major vote of the Court, *whether we ſhould live or die*, which was ſo ordered by the providence of God, *that the number of two votes carried it on our ſide*; and whereas both by Law, Equitie, and act of Providence, they ought to have ſet us forthwith at liberty, yet notwithſtanding they proceeded further to cenſure; namely, *confined us to ſeverall Towns, and to wear bolts and irons, and to worke for our livings, though it was in the extremity of winter, and not to ſpeak of any of thoſe things which they had dealt with us about, and all this during the pleaſure of the Court, and that upon pain of death.*

Here

Here followeth a true Copie of the cenſure, and of the charg as it was given unto us in Writing by the Court, being extant, and here ſet down verbatim, *as it was given to* Samuel Gorton, *the reſt being the ſame, but onely the change of the names.*

For *Samuel Gorton.*

IT is ordered that *Samuel Gorton* ſhall be confined to *Charlſtowne*, there to be ſet on worke, and to wear ſuch bolts or irons, as may hinder his eſcape, and ſo to continue during the pleaſure of the Court; provided, that if he ſhall breake his ſaid confinement, or ſhall in the meane time, either by ſpeech or writing, publiſh, declare, or maintaine any of the blaſphemous or abominable hereſies, wherewith he hath been charged by the generall Court, contained in either of the two [c] books ſent unto us by him, or by *Randall Houlden*: or ſhall reproach, or reprove the Churches of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in theſe united Colonies, or the civill government, or the publicke Ordinances of God therein (unleſſe it be by anſwer to ſome queſtion propounded to him, or conference with any Elder, or with any other licenſed to ſpeak with him privately, under the hand of one of the Aſſiſtants) that immedistly upon accuſation of any ſuch writing, or ſpeech, he ſhall by ſuch Aſſiſtant, to whom ſuch accuſation ſhall be brought, be committed to priſon, till the next Court of Aſsiſtants, then and there to be tryed by a Jury, whether he hath ſo ſpoken or written, and upon his conviction thereof, ſhall be condemned to death, and executed.

Dated the 3°. of the 9°. Moneth, 1643. *Per. cur.*

Increaſe Nowell, Secret.

c Whereas they name two books written unto them, there was an other writing ſent unto them by us, but it was no ground of any of their proceedings againſt us, therefore we thought it not fit to bring it into this treatiſe; for they had concluded upon, what they would doe unto us, and were gone out for execution before that writing came unto them for it onely met the ſculdiers on the way towards us, with Commiſſion to put us to the ſword; we ſhall deſire to publiſh it by it ſelfe; for we are willing to have it known, and we made anſwer to any thing in it, they could ſeem to object, when wee were amongſt them. The *Maſſachuſets* promiſed the people, that however they might not hear our writings read then among them, yet they ſhould ſee them ſhortly in print, but they put us to the labour and coſt of it; elſe they cannot be content to have them lie buried, but render them, and their dealings with us, in all places wher they come, to be other things then indeed they are.

A

A Copie of the Charge.

Samuel Gorton, being convict as a blaſphemous enemy to the true Religion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and all his holy Ordinances, and alſo to all civill authority among the people of God, and particularly in this juriſdiction, as appeareth by writings and ſpeeches.

This charge being laid upon us, at the Barre before we heard of the cenſure (though they came as above in writing to us:) the Governour asked us, *whether we bowed under it, and whether we would retract*; we anſwered and told them (*as in the preſence of God*) that the charge *neither bowed nor touched us at all*, for we were free, and farre from being guilty of any ſuch things, and for our retractation, we told them *we came not there to deny our Religion, in any point of it, but to teſtifie and bear Witneſſe unto it*; then did they reade our cenſure, for our our confinement, as it above ſaid; and when the bolts and chains were made ready, they put them upon us, in the priſon at *Boſton*, that ſo we might traveſt in them to the ſeverall Towns to which we were confined, ſome of us having fifteen miles, and ſome thirty to goe from *Boſton*; only we were to ſtay till Maſter *Cotten* his Lecture day, and then were all brought to the Congregation in that our iron furniture, for the credit of the Sanctuary, which had ſet the ſword on work to ſuch good purpoſe, and after that were with all ſpeed ſent away; yea, ſome of us among the people that went from the Lecture, that ſo we might be a ſpectacle unto them.

In which condition we continued a whole winter ſeaſon; in which time their Miniſters ſtirred up the people in their publick Sermons *to famiſh us to death*, out of that place of the Prophet *Zephany*, 2. 10. 11. *This ſhall they have for their pride, becauſe they have reproached, and magnified themſelves againſt the people of the Lord of Hoſts; the Lord will be terrible unto them, for he will famiſh all the Gods of the earth, and men ſhall worſhip him, every one from his place, even all the Iſles of the Heathen.* *Samuel Gorton* having intelligence, from

Boston, to *Charles*-Town, to which he was confined; that Master *Cotton* preached from that text in the prophecie of *Zephany*, and how he applyed the doctrine from it to have all necessaries with-held from him, telling some eminent members of the Church, that if they either went unto us, to visit us, or sent unto us, to minister to our wants, the curse of God would abide both on them and their posterity, for so doing; the said *Gorton* hearing of these things, writ a Letter to the ruling Elder in *Charles-Towne*, [d] a Copie whereof (*verbatim*) here followeth, which was consulted upon, by the Ministers immediatly, together with the Governour, as intelligence was brought unto him, but never answer given unto it, neither by word nor writing.

d We had liberty to speak or write to Elders, or such as the Magistrates lycensed to speake with us, in way of question, whom they thought were fittest to insnare us, so that this writing is but a question, only it hath a large preface.

Charles-towne, January the 12. 1643.

Mr. *Green*

FOr as much as we know that the Ruler of the Congregation hath power to give utterance, and to authorise speech unto edification, [e] and that none ought to hinder, where ever or whomsoever he permits or giveth Lycense unto, [f] and in as much as we also professe, that there is one thing that is needfull, and whosoever shall make choise of that, it shall never be tak n away from him g, which is to hear the words of Christ. Neither are we ignorant, that none are truly sensible, or know the necessity, use, and benefit of *hearing the Word of Christ*, but only such as are sensible, and see the necessitie; (yea, and that in the same subject) *of speaking and delivering the words of Christ* h, for the heart of every Saint is equally ballanced with these two; the same necessitie he finds *to speak*, he also finds to *heare*; the same necessity he finds to *heare*, he finds to *speake also the Word of God*, for *faith is in hearing, and hearing is in speaking the word of God* [i;] if we deny either of these unto a Christian, we deny him the power of faith, which doth consist in them both; nay, if he want a tongue to speake, or an eare to heare (and that equally, the one as the other) we deny him to be *compleat in Christ* [k] who as he had *an ear open to the voice of the Father in all things* [l,] so had he *a tongue*

e *Psal.* 6.ii. *Mat.*28.',19. 20.

f *Act*4. 18 19. 20:

g *Luk.*10.41.42

h 1 *Cor.*9.16.

i *Rom.* 10.17.

k 2.*Cor.*4.13. *Collos.* 2.10.

l *Psal.*40. 6.

to

to divulge and declare them unto the world; [m] even so *with the heart man beleeves unto righteousnesse*, [n] that is, gives credit to that which he hears, to be in another, *and with the mouth confession is made to salvation*, [o] that is, preacheth, or professeth *that which God hath made him to be by faith*, [p] *therefore if thou shalt confesse with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and beleeve in thine heart that God raised him up from the dead, thou shalt be saved* [q.] nor am I ignorant of the minds of the people, (amongst whom I now sojourne, *and am a stranger as all my Fathers have beene*) [r] How earnest they are I should get my bread with servile worke, or else to have *hunger and famine to cleave unto my bonds*, which they professe themselves to be very clearly instructed in, though in times past it hath been thought sufficient work for a man to be exercised in (at one time) to lie in fetters and irons amongst strangers, *though wife and children were not deprived of all necessaries at home*. Nor doe I doubt, but they may find a time to alter their judgement (it may be before they are aware) *especially if the Bride-groom be at the door* [s.] and it is well known, that I have not been accustomed to any servile worke in any part of my life till now of late in *New-England*, where through the kindnesse of my countrey men, in taking from my family the things of this life, (which God had bestowed on us) I have been necessitated thereunto, which I am so upbraided with in this place.

But it is not grievous unto me, whilest they cannot but see in it (*if God have not blinded their eyes*) the vanity of those Idol shepherds of the Church of Rome *, who cannot speak unto the people, but in a way of so much study and ease; nor had I ever desire, to be set up in the world, through gatherings and contributions of the people: *Therefore have these hands ministred to my necessities* t. But however I have been exercised *about the bread that perisheth* u, yet hath it not been but with respect *unto that which endureth unto everlasting life* w, which I have endeavoured *to break* x, and faithfully to impart unto my wife, children, and servants, and to any that had an ear open to listen unto *that Wholesome word of life* y, which hath

m *Joh.* 17. 6. 26
n *Rom.* 10. 10.
o *Rom.* 10. 9 10.
p *Psal.* 116. 10.
q *Rom.* 10. 9
r *Psal.* 39. 12.
s *Mat.* 25. 6 10.

* Whereseever the doctrine, spirit, & power of it doth appear.

t 1 *Cor.* 4. 11, 12. *Acts* 20. 34.
u *Joh.* 6. 27.
w *Joh.* 6. 33. 36. 51.
x *Acts* 20. 7.
y *Joh.* 6. 63, 68

hath made all other travells or losses, whatever, to be light and
[x] Mat. 11. 28 29, 30. easie unto me (as at this day) [x], *which I professe to be the only*
[a] 1 Cor. 9.16 *errant I have to do in this world*: and however *We do preach the*
Gospel, yet have We nothing to rejoyce in [a] *or to glory and praise*
[b] Ibid. *our selves for*, to lift up our selves above our Brethren: *for ne-*
cessity is laid upon me [b]; That is, I am in want, and stand in
need of all things; *and Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel*:
That is, if I receive not this grace from Christ, as wel as any
other: for the same necessity I have of any other grace, I have
of this grace also: *For of his fulnesse We all receive, and grace*
[c] John 1. 16. [d] 1 Sam 25.29 Cant. 1. 13. *for grace* [c], for *the graces of God are a bundle of life in Christ*
Iesus [d]: So as, that if I reject, or neglect, or put off any one
of them to another, as no priviledge or prerogative of mine,
I do the like to all: *For his seamlesse coat may not be divided,*
[e] Math.27.35 *but all goeth by lot or portion the same way* [e]: And in like man-
ner I am destitute of this, I am destitute of all other grace,
that proceeds from him: *For if I preach the Gospel willingly,*
[f] 1 Cor.9.17. *I have a reward* [f]: That is, if I do it out of any ability, skil,
or wil of my own, gotten and acquired by any pains or indu-
strty, as men attain to arts, and trades, wherein they are to be
preferred before, and above others, *then I have a reward*:
that is, something is to be tributed and contributed to me for
the same, then go I about to deprive my Lord of his right,
[g] Luke 16. 1. *shewing my self an unfaithful steward* [g]: *for where an hundreth*
[h] Luke 16.4, 5, 6, 7. *is due to him, I bid write fifty, that I may take the rest my self to*
live upon [h]; for even as I propound my own deserts, demerits,
and eminency unto a people, *so do I propound the undeserving*
estate and condition of my Lord; proclaming his baseness
whil'st I set forth my pains and good-wil in so doing. *but if*
[i] 1 Cor.9 17. *I do it against my wil* [i]: That is, if it be contrary to the mind
and wil of all men, *to undergo the crosse of Christ, to preach*
[k] 2 Cor,23,to 28. *the Gospel in necessities, reproaches, hard labors, and persecuti-*
ons [k], *then is the dispensation committed unto me* [l]: that is,
[l] 1 Cor. 9.17 the right of all administrations (*wrapped up in that fountain of*
dispensing, the Gospel) do of right solely belong unto him, and
[m] Rom. 1. 16. not unto me in any case, *yea, it is the wil and power of another* [m]
and not my own, unto whom the praise and glory of right be-
[n] Psa. 105.1. longeth and wholy appertaineth [n], and not unto the wil, abi-

lity

lity, or skil of any man whatſoever [o]: and hence it is *that the Croſſe is eaſie unto us* [p], becauſe we know that he, as truly, and totally taketh our reproaches and hardſhips *upon himſelfe* [q], *which are only due unto us*: as he committeth the diſpenſation of his grace and glory unto us, that is none of ours, but only due and belongs unto himſelf, ſo that *we remembred him that ſuffered ſuch gainſayings of ſinners, leaſt we ſhould be weary and faint in our mind* [r]: yea further, *there is a neceſſity of preaching the Goſpel upon every ſoul*: for as there is not any *that can beleeve, for another, unto righteouſneſſe* [s], the party being deſtitute of that grace himſelf, ſo there is not any *that can preach or confeſſe for another unto ſalvation* [t], the party himſelf being deſtitute of that grace of *confeſſion or preaching*: Indeed the Saints communicate in theſe graces one with an other, as all of them being *heirs and inheritors of the ſame grace in Chriſt* [u], but one cannot perform any office for another, as for ſuch as are deſtitute *of the ſame grace and office themſelves* [w]: for that were *inſtead of a girdle a rent* [x]: Therefore the preaching of the Goſpel *is the diſcovering of what men are in Chriſt Ieſus*, and not only what they may or ſhal be [y], alſo *what men are under the wrath of God that abides upon them, being out of Chriſt* [z] and not only what they ſhal be: So that every Chriſtian having received this (*as an ingrafted word* [a] *growing up together with it*) that is, *that I may be mutually edified and comforted by the communication of your faith & mine* [b], he grows up in this alſo, namely, *that I may be mutually edified and comforted by the communication of your preaching and mine*, for in the day of the Lord *which is the day of ſalvation, and behold now the accepted time, behold now the day of ſalvation* (c) *wherein we give no offence*, or lay not any ſtumbling block before our brethren (d); we villifie not that ſacrifice *once offered up for all* (e). *That our miniſtery may not be reprehended* (f). Or that our miniſtery be not *blemiſhed*, for ſo the word is (*momos*) that is we can acknowledge no ſacrifice, but only that *which is without either ſuperfluity or defect*; *and in that day the feebleſt in Ieruſalem, is as* David (g); *A King* h, *a leader* i, *a valiant warrier*, [k] *a ſweet ſinger in Iſrael* l, *and the houſe of* David *as God*, or as the *mighties* (for the Word *is* plurall) *yea as the angel of the Lord before them*; [m] every one

o Iames 1. 18. Iohn 1. 13.
p Math. 11. 28 29.
q Math. 8. 17
r Heb. 12. 3.
s Rom. 10. 10.
t Ibid.
u Rom 8. 17.
w 1 Cor. 12. 2
x Iſa. 3. 24.
y 1 Iohn 4 17
z Iohn 3. 36.
a Iames 1. 21
b *Rom.* 1. 11 12.
c 2 *Cor.* 6. 2.
d 2 *Cor.* 6. 3
e *Heb.* 9. 26. 27.
f 2 *Cor.* 6. 3.
g *Zech.* 12. 8
h *Pſal.* 2. 6.
i *Pſal.* 78. 70. 72. 73.
k 2 *Sam.* 18. 3.
l 1 *Sam.* 18. 7
m 1 *Sam.* 23. 1. *Zech.* 12. 8

one is as the angel or messenger of the Lord, *before the rest of the congregation*, or as the angel of the Lord before (him) as the word will also beare, that is to say, as the messenger of the Lord, like unto his servant *John*, *to prepare or make ready his way before him*. l forthe messenger of the Lord, and he onely knows how to bring down *the highest mountain, and how to lift up the lowest valley, and that only is a high way for the Royalty of our King to passe upon* m *in the wildernesse*. And this is a glory that the world cannot *receive*, neither can it *give it* n: and it is our rejoycing that we borrow nothing from the world, nor stand in need of any thing it hath, to make the Gospel of God glorious, *for it were better for us to die, then that any man should make our rejoycing vain, or emptie* o. For it were not full in Christ, if we borrowed any thing of the world, *which were death to us to think of; what is our rejoycing then, or our reward*, when as the whole world affordeth nothing at all unto us? verily this *that when we preach the Gospel, We make it free*, p *which could not be, if it laid claim to any thing the World hath in the publication of it self*; for then by the Law of relations, *the world might lay claim unto, and challenge something from (it) which were to bring the Gospel into bondage*. But as the Lord Jesus wrought that great work of reconciliation *freely*, so as the world could challenge nothing of it at his hands at all, so is that word of reconciliation, *to whomsoever it is committed* q, *published freely, so as the World can challenge nothing of them at all* r; So that *the servant of the Lord is free from all men, though he makes himself servant unto all, that he might gain the more.* ſ Thence it is *that he abuseth not his authority in the Gospel but keeps his power unspotted* t, when the world can require nothing at his hands; hereby shewing also the transcendencie of that kingdome, wherein his authority is exercised, beyond the kingdoms of this world which must borrow one of another, else cannot any be glorious *in the height of glory* concerning the things of this life; therefore had *Solomon* himself *Gold, Silver, Ivory, apes, and peacocks, brought from other nations to augment his glory* u. *But he that is greater then* Solomon x *beautifieth himself with none of the things of this life* y, though he had

l *Mal.* 3. 1. *Mat.* 11. 10.
m *Luk.* 1. 17. *Luk.* 3. 5. 6.
n *John* 14. 17. 27. *John* 16. 22.
o 1 *Cor.* 9. 15.
p 1 *Cor.* 9. 18.
q 2 *Cor.* 5. 18. 2 *Cor.* 11. 7. 8. 9.
r *Mat.* 10. 8. 1 *Cor.* 9. 1.
ſ 1 *Cor.* 7. 23. 1 *Cor.* 9. 19
t 1 *Cor.* 9. 18.
u 1 *Kin.* 10. 22. 2 *Chr.* 9. 21,
x *Mat.* 12. 22.
y *Mat.* 8. 20 *Isa.* 52. 14.

right

right to them all, [z] that so he might make it manifest *that his Kingdome is not of this world;* [a] therefore gives charge unto his disciples, that *as they had freely received, so they should freely give:* [b] for by how much we injoyn people to contribute unto us for preaching the Gospell, by so much we proclaim, *that we have given unto God for what we have received of him,* [c] *and teach others: so to do,* [d] namely to bring some preparations, operation, or fitnesse *to receive his grace,* which is as far from man to attain unto, *as it was to prepare and fit himself for his creation at the first,* [e] so that the benevolence of the Saints in communicating of the things of this life, *is no part of the glory or beautifying of the house of God;* for then a wicked man might adde somewhat thereunto, nor shall the glory in the least measure be diminished, *when these things shall have an end.* But it is a declaration of their vilification of the things of this present life, as things of no account or reckoning, when they come into competition with the well being of the Saints; and as these things *are consumed, and turned into ashes, upon that golden altar,* [f] *so doth there ascend up a perfumatory sacrifice of sweet savour unto the Lord,* [g] *for according to our vilification of the things of this life, so is our valuation of the Lord Iesus, who is either all or none at all in our estimation and account,* and if he be all [h], *then he that gathereth much of the things according unto man hath nothing over,* [i] or above him that hath the least, and *he that gathereth little hath no lack* [k] or falls short of him that hath the most, for the one, and the other *consume them in the act of the present supply of their necessity,* knowing that if they keep them, in making any account or reckoning of them, for the time to come, *they presently putrifie and corrupt* [l]. Learn this parable therefore, *that there is that in the heavenly Manna that the rebells may eat in the wilderness and die eternally* [m], as well as that *which whosoever eateth shal never die, but live for ever* [n], yea there is *a seed to be sown in giving away to another,* as well as food to receive *for the nourishing of our selves; and he that sows sparingly in that shall reap sparingly* [o], yea he that knows not *how to minister carnall things, cannot have Spirituall things ministred unto him* [p], no more then a man can keep *his*

z *Rom.* 4.13 14.
Gal. 4.7.
a *Iohn* 18.36
b *Mat.* 10.8
c *Iob.* 35.7.8
d *Mat.* 5.19.
e *Gen.* 2.7.
f *Levit.* 9. 24.
g *Phil.* 4.18
h *Col.* 3.11. *Ephes.* 1.23.
i 2 *Cor.* 8. 15.
k 2 *Cor.* 8. 15.
l *Exod.* 16. 19.20.
m *John* 6.5.8
n *John* 6. 58.
o 2 *Cor.* 9. 56
p *Rom.* 15.27.

sinne

ſinne, and have the *righteouſneſſe of Chriſt alſo.* q Theſe onely therefore that in giving and receiving know how to perform all in the ſame act, *as the woman in caſting her two mites into the treaſury*, r *and out of deep povertie can ſee the abounding of the riches of liberality* ſ; Such can perform an acceptable ſervice to the Lord; but ſuch as onely exerciſe themſelves *in piece mealing of the things of God, and the things of man*, to ſerve at times and turns, *for advantage*, and reſerve the reſt, this is *as the cutting off of a dogs head, or the offering of ſwines blood in the houſe of God* t how ever elſe where they may be done without any ſuch abomination, the Saints therefore depend not upon neither deſire the worlds benevolence, knowing wel *what their mercies are in the winding up*, u nor can they expect from them ought elſe, *but bonds, impriſonments*, x *and ſpoyling of their goods* y (which through the ſecret ſupplies their maſter makes unto them) *they ſuffer joyfully*, z not looking for ſo much *as a ſhoe latchet from the King of Sodom to enrich themſelves with all* a knowing that *the bleſſing of the Lord upon their indevours* b *ſhall yield ſufficient to convey them through thi s valley of Baca* c, which indevours, God directeth unto times and ſeaſons to uſe according to ſtrength, and conſtitution, *without any to lay tasks upon them*, d even as *he teacheth the husbandman when to throw in the cummin, and the fitches* e, though they know (notwithſtanding) *what it is to have power, not to work, and to lead about a wife, that is a ſiſter as well as others.* f But I am longer in my introduction, then I did intend, my Queſtion therefore in ſhort is this, namely whether I may have liberty to ſpeak and expreſſe the word of the Lord in the publick congregation freely without interruption, either on the Lords day, or the ordinary Lecture, now whilſt I am kept from my family, and friends, with whom I have been formerly exerciſed: *for ſeeing our dayes as a ſhadow decline*, g *and we are preſently withered as graſſe*, h *when in a moment we go hence, and are no more*; i We are earneſt therefore to expreſſe *the word of life that fadeth not, nor waxeth old as doth a garment*, k *that Gods memoriall may abide with our poſterity* l *when we are gone the way of all the earth*, m and that you ſhall not need to feare my touching upon any

q 2 *Cor.* 14. 15. 16.
r *Luk.* 21. 2. 3. 4.
ſ 2. *Cor.* 8. 2.
t *Iſa.* 66. 3.
u *Prov.* 12. 10.
x *Acts* 20. 22. 23.
y *Heb.* 10. 34.
z *Iſa.* 43. 2.
a *Gen.* 14. 21. 22. 23.
b *Prov.* 10. 22.
c *Pſal.* 84. 5. 6.
d *Exod.* 5. 6. *to* 14.
e *Iſa.* 28. 23. 24. 25. 26.
f 1 *Cor.* 9. 3. 4. 5. 6.
g *Pſal.* 102. 11.
h *Pſal.* 102. 4.
i *Pſal.* 39. 5. 13.
k *Pſal.* 102. 25. 26. 27.
l *Pſal.* 102. 12
m 1 *Kings* 2. 1. 2.

any of those things which it seems *are to lie sealed as in the grave for the present,* n I shall tell you what Scripture urgeth my heart for the present to impart, *if God lead not into another,* o before the opportunity be attained, *for we cannot treasure up to bring forth at our pleasure unto profit,* no more then we can *fetch down at our pleasure for our supply,* but onely as our God performeth, both the one and the other, p for we depend not upon *Baal Oboth as Saul did,* q but upon *the Lord Iehovah as David did.* r The Scripture intended is the sounding of the fifth trumpet, *Revel.9.* out of which I desire (as God shall assist) to open and declare these points following.

n Mat.27. 65.66.
Dan.6.16.17.
o John 16.13.
p John 14.26.
q 1 Sam.28.7.
r Psal.36.9.

1 *What the sound of the trumpet is,* 2 *who the angel is,* 3 *why the fifth.* Point. 1.

1 *What that starre is that falls from heaven to the earth,* 2 *What the fall of it is,* 3 *how it falls from heaven unto the earth.* P. 2.

1 *What the key of the bottomlesse pit is.* 2 *To whom it is given* 3 *The manner how it is given.* 4 *How the pit is opened.* 5 *How it can be said to be bottomlesse, seeing nothing can be without banks and bottome but the Lord himself.* P. 3.

1 *What the smoke of the bottomlesse pit is.* 2 *The cause and manner of its rise, even as the smoke of a great furnace.* P.4.

1 *What the Sunne and the aire are.* 2 *How they are darkened by the smoke of the pit.* P.5.

1 *What those locusts are that come out of the smoke.* 2 *The nature of their power, as the scorpions of the earth have power,* 3 *how this power is given unto them, seeing that all power is of God.* P.6.

1 *What the injunctions are, that are laid upon the locusts.* P.7.
2 *The rise of those injunctions:* 3 *The exercise of them:* 4 *The extent of them.*

1 *What the nature and property of the locusts are, declared by the severall formes ascribed unto them, furniture, ornaments, and their carriage in them.* P.8.

What their King is, as he is described, 1 *by his office assigned,* 2 *by his titles given unto him.* 3 *How he is a King, seeing the locusts are said to have no King over them,* P.9.

1 *What that woe is, that is said to be past, and how it can be* P.10.

said

ſaid to be paſt, ſeeing there is ever wo to the wicked. 2 What the two Woes are, which are to come, and how they can be ſaid to come hereafter, ſeeing the Wrath of God abides upon him already, that believes not.

Thus you have my queſtion, both with its introduction and Sequel, and I attend your anſwer, which I hope will not onely be ſpeedy in reſpect of time, but ſpeeches alſo in regard of matter, to the ſatisfying and fulfilling of my deſires,

Per me Samuel Gorton.

Now during the time of our confinement, being diſperſed abroad into ſeverall towns in the countrey, the people came to be informed of the truth of proceedings, whereupon *they were much unſatisfied with what they had done againſt us*, which being perceived, they called a generall Court, and without any appearance, or queſtioning any of us, concluded upon our releaſe ſending us a writing of it, together with a further baniſhment, not onely out of all their own juriſdictions, but alſo that we ſhould not come in, nor near *Providence*, nor our own plantations at *Shawomet*, with other parts thereto adjoyning, out of all which places we were to depart within the ſpace of fourteen dayes, and that upon pain of death, which were places out of all their juriſdictions, as Maſter *John Indicote* (at that time deputy Governor) confeſſed, ſtanding up in publick Court, and profeſſed *that God had ſtirred them up to go out of their own Juriſdictions, to fetch us from our own places unto them.*

Here followeth a true Copie of our releaſe and baniſhment, ſent to us from the Generall Court, ſet down verbatim, *and is extant under their hands,*

At a Generall Court at Boſton *the* 7th *of the firſt moneth* 1643 *or* 1644.

IT is ordered that *Samuel Gorton* and the reſt of that company, who now ſtand confined, ſhall be ſet at liberty, provided that if they or any of them, ſhall after fourteen dayes after ſuch inlargement, come within any part of our Juriſdiction, either

either in the *Maſſachuſets*, or in, or near *Providence*, or any of the Lands of *Pumham*, or *Socconoco* * or elſe where, within our Juriſdiction, then ſuch perſon, or perſons, ſhall be apprehended whereſoever they may be taken, and ſhall ſuffer death by courſe of Law; provided alſo that during all their continuance in our bounds inhabiting for the ſaid time of fourteene dayes, they ſhall be ſtill bound, to the reſt of the Articles of their former confinement, upon the penalty therein expreſſed. *Per Cur.* Increaſe Nowel *Secret.*

* These were their two Indian ſubjects lately enticed to renounce their own Prince, thereby to finde a way to ſubject us unto their own wills, or elſe to execute death upon us.

When this order of the Court was preſented to *Samuel Gorton*, by the Conſtable of *Charles* town, bringing a Smith with him, to file off his bolts, he told the Conſtable *he was not willing to part with his irons on theſe termes*, but expected other news in fairer termes of releaſe, then were therein expreſſed, deſiring him to go to Maſter *Nowel* who lived in that town, and declare ſo much unto him. In ſhort time, the Conſtable returned, bringing divers of the chief men in the town with him, *and commanded the Smith to fall to work, to file off his bolts*, who did accordingly, and ſo took them from him, leaving the ſaid *Gorton* either to walk abroad, on ſuch conditions, or elſe to ſtay at his perill.

Now two or three dayes after our releaſe, Some of us being returned to *Boſton*, deſiring to ſtay for the reſt of our friends, that we might return together, accompanying each other in our journey, *the people ſhewing themſelves joyfull to ſee us at liberty*, and entertaining us kindly into their houſes, which the Governor perceiving preſently ſent out his warrant, with ſtrict charge to depart from the town, within the ſpace of two hours, (it being about ten of the clock in the forenoon when the warrant came unto us) otherwiſe further penalty ſhould be laid upon us.

This is a true copie of the Governors Warrant extant ſtill under his hand, word for Word.

To the Marſhall or his deputie,

I Am informed that *Samuel Gorton*, and his company are now abiding in the town, and go to divers houſes, giving offence thereby, and cauſe of ſuſpicion, of attempting to ſeduce ſome of our people; you are therefore to command them to depart out of the town, before noon this day, upon pain of being apprehended and further proceeded with, according to their deſervings. (i)10.--43.

John Winthrop Governour.

Now although by the Generall Court, we had fourteen dayes allowed unuo us to inhabit within their Juriſdictions, *not limited to any place, nor excluded from any place for the ſpace of ſo long time* yet notwithſtanding upon notice given unto us by this warrant we preſently departed the town* though upon a ſudden when we were unprovided for victuals & other proviſions for our journy, & being there was no place inhabited by the *Engliſh* near the place where our wives and children were ſcattered, out of which they had not expelled us, but onely a little Iſland, called *Road Iſland*, ſituate in the *Nanhyganſet* Bay, upon which we arrived, within the time limited unto us, but the night before we came to *Road Iſland* we lodged at *Shawomet in our own houſes there*, and conſidering of the act of their court in our expelling and baniſhment out of thoſe parts, we obſerved that they had not expreſſed our land at *Shawomet*, but onely named the lands of *Pumhom*, and *Soccononcco*, (the Indians whom they claimed as Subjects) we thought good therefore to write unto them for a further explanation of the Courts act, that ſo we might underſtand their true intent being very unwilling

As we paſſed along the way a matter of three or foure miles from Boſton, we came to ſome Indian wigwammes, the Sachim being the prime Sachim, that lives neare them, and familiar among them, we came into his wigwam accidentally, and he having taken notice of us amongſt them how we had been dealt with, as ſoon as we came in, called ſome of us by our names) his name being *Coſhanakin*, we asked him whether Captain *Cook* were a good Captain, he anſwered I cannot tell, but Indians account of thoſe as good Captains, when a few dare ſtand out againſt many.

to

to diſcover their dealings towards us in ſeeking redreſſe, if we could but ſee a way, that through our hard labours, our wives and little ones might find a way to ſubſiſt.

Here followeth a true Copie of the Letter ſent unto the Governour of the Maſſachuſets, verbatim, *as it is ſtill extant under the hands of the witneſſes, which were taken, leſt they ſhould put us off, and not make anſwer to our letter.*

Shawomet, March the 26. 1644.

THe order of your Court laſt held, made concerning us, being darke and obſcure, which beſeems not a matter of that concernment, which you have now entred upon, and made ſome ſhort progreſſe therein; the iſſues whereof are preſſing on unto perfection, whoſe arrivall is waited for, *with that hope that never makes aſhamed,* we may not therefore forbeare *To require an explanation of what you intend, by the Lands of* Pumhom *and* Socconomocco, *for we know none they have, or ever had within your juriſdiction;* if you ſhould therefore, ſo farre forget your ſelfe, as to intend thereby *our Land lawfully bought, and now in our poſſeſſion, and inhabited by us, called* Shaw-omet, *together with other parts near adjoyning:* Give us your minds, and meaning in plaine terms, under your hands: And whereas you conclude, for ſuch our lawfull aboad, and reſidence, to proſecute againſt us by courſe of Law unto death; we reſolve upon your anſwer, with all expedition, to wage Law with you, and try to the uttermoſt, *What right or intereſt you can ſhew to lay claime, either to our Lands or our Lives;* and ſhall take it as your own Act, urging us and conſtraining us thereunto, to looke after our right, in the havock and ſpoyls, you have already made among us, which otherwiſe God hath taught us, *to ſuffer joyfully the robbing and ſpoyling of our goods,* if you did not neceſsitate us to look after recompence from you: We expect your anſwer by this Bearer, and in caſe you returne it not ſpeedily, we conclude yonr order of Court to intend no ſuch thing, as to drive us

from our lawfull poſſeſsions, as above-ſaid, but that you uſed ſuch termes, as ſcar-crows, imagining you had children to deale with, or as a ſtarting hole to evade part of that danger that may inſue: nor can you put us off for anſwer, till the Court ſit againe, being a generall Act, and you but one; now to anſwer, for we know you may better open unto us the intent of the Court for our ſatisfaction, then you could expell us out of any part of your juriſdiction, before the time ſet by the Court, contrary to the liberty it had given unto us.

By the order or government of Shaw-omet, John Warner, *Secretary. Sufficient witneſſe being taken of our plaine and man-like dealing with you herein.*

A true Copie of a Letter ſent to the Government, and Governour of the Maſſachuſets, *the day and year above-ſaid: In Witneſſe of, or in preſence of* Ralph Earle.
John Anthony.

Here Followeth a true Copie of the Governours anſwer to our Letter above-ſaid, ſet downe here verbatim, *and is extant under his own hand.*

To Samuel Gorton, John Warner, *and the reſt of that company.*

FOr ſatisfaction of what you require, by your writing of *March*, 26, 1644. This is to let you know, that the expreſſion and intent of the order of our laſt generall Court, concerning your comming within any part of our juriſdiction, doth comprehend all the Lands of *Pumhom*, and *Socconomocco*, and in the ſame are included the Lands which you pretended to have purchaſed, upon part whereof you had built ſome houſes, (be the place called *Shaw-omet* or otherwiſe) ſo as you are not to come there upon perill of your lives. This I teſtifie to you.

Boſton 2.(i)1644 *John Winthrope.*

You

You muſt know withall, that the Court did not intend their order ſhould be a ſcar-crow (as you write) for you will find it reall, and effectuall, if you ſhall tranſgreſſe it.

Thus far the Governors *Letter, written with his own hand.*

Now upon our comming to *Road-Iland*, the Indians of that great Countrey of the *Nanhyganſet* hearing of our return without the loſſe of our lives, they wondred, having obſerved the cauſeleſſe cruelty they had offered unto us, ſome of them being within the hearing of the ſhot of the Guns, whilſt they lay intrenched againſt us, as alſo how we were uſed in the *Maſſachuſets*, and the conſtant report, whilſt we lay amongſt them, that ſome of our lives ſhould be taken away, or elſe kept as ſlaves ſo long as we lived; conſidering theſe and the like things they marvelled much at our deliverance and releaſe, from amongſt them: Now our countrey men having given out formerly, amongſt the *Indians*, that we were not Engliſh men, to encourage them againſt us (becauſe the awe of the Engliſh, hath been much upon them) and being they could not father the name of any Sectary, or Sect upon us, but we could clearly demonſtrate, we were no ſuch *opinionated perſons*, they then called us *Gortoneans*, and told the *Indians* we were ſuch kind of men, not Engliſh: now the *Indians* calling the Engliſh in their language *Wattaconoges*, they now called us *Gortonoges*, and being they had heard a rumour of great war to be in *Old-England*, and that it was a land ſo furniſhed with multitudes of people, they preſently framed unto themſelves a cauſe of our deliverance, imagining that there were two kinds of people in *Old-England*, the one called by the name of Engliſh men, and the other *Gortonoges*; and concluded that the *Gortonoges* were a mightier people then the Engliſh, whom they call *Wattaconoges*; and therefore the *Maſſachuſets* thought it not ſafe to take away our lives, becauſe however there were but a few of us in *New-England*, in compariſon of thoſe that came out againſt us, yet that great people, that were in *Old-England* would come over, and put them to death, that ſhould

ſhould take away our lives from us, without a juſt cauſe.

Whereupon the *Sachims* of the *Nanhyganſet* conſulting together, preſently ſent Meſſengers unto us, to come and ſpeake with them, and being they were thoſe of whom wee had bought our Land (which now the *Maſſachuſets* had taken away from us,) *as all that inhabite upon that Bay have done*) they being very importunate to have us to come over to ſpeak with them, we not knowing what the occaſion was, yeelded unto their requeſt, a matter of halfe a dozin, or ſeven of us took boat to goe over the *Bay* to them, they ſeeing the veſſell come, newes was brought to the *Sachim*, who ſent abandof luſty well armed men, who met us, as ſoon as we were come to Land, to conduct us to old *Sachim Conaunicus his houſe*, multitudes of *Indians*, as we paſſed along, coming forth, and ſeemed joyfull, which we taking notice of, (neither the one nor the other being uſuall amongſt them) ſome of us began to be a little jealous, that the Agents of the *Maſſachuſets*, who lived near unto us, had gone about to betray us into their hands, upon ſome falſe ſuggeſtion concerning the death of their *Sachim Myantonomy*, who loſt his life immediatly before the *Maſſachuſets* came againſt us; and however he was ſuddenly ſlaine by an *Indian* coming behind him, as he marched upon the way, yet there were Engliſh preſent at the doing of the act, which we were a little jealous, the above-ſaid Agents might have ſuggeſted, that we might be conſenting thereunto, which all the *Indians* tooke for a moſt injurious act, not onely becauſe he was ſo famous a Prince amongſt them, but alſo how ever he was taken in a ſtratagem of warre by the *Indians*, *yet a great ranſome was paid for his Redemption, and his life taken away alſo*, and they are very conſciencious, to recompenſe the ſhedding of blood, (*eſpecially of ſuch perſonages*) *with blood againe*: But when wee were come to the old *Sachims* houſe, we were courteouſly entertained, and from thence conducted to the houſe of *Sachim Peſſecus*, Brother, and ſucceſſor in government to the late *Myantonomy*, when we were there, divers *Sachims*, and their chiefe Counſellors, took us aſide to conſult with us, and asked what we intended to doe,

or

or how we could live, seeing the *Massachusets* had not onely taken *our estates from us in goods and chattels, but also our houses, lands and labours, where we should raise more, for the preservation of our Families*, and withall, told us that their condition, might (in great measure) be paraleld with ours, else they would willingly have done any thing for our help, in regard that our Land was bought of them, *and we had faithfully paid them for it, according to our contract*: But they told us, they had not only lost their *Sachim*, so beloved amongst them, and such an instrument of their publick good; but had also utterly impoverished themselves, by paying such a ransome for his life, (as they then made us an account of) notwithstanding, his life taken away, and that detaine also; we made answer unto them, that for our parts, we were not discouraged, in any thing that had befalne us, for we were subjects to such a noble State in *Old-England*, that however we were farre off from our King and State, yet we doubted not but in due time, we should have redresse, and in the mean time we were resolved, to undergoe it with patience, and in what way we could, labor with our hands, for the preservation of our wives and children: the answer that they made unto us was this, That they thought we belonged to a better Master then the *Massachusets* did: whereupon, desiring our stay, they called a generall Assembly, to make known their minds, and to see the minds of their people, and with joynt and unanimous consent, concluded to become subjects to the State and Government of *Old-England*, in case they might be accepted of; we told them, we could promise them nothing, nor take any ingagements upon us, not knowing the minds of that Honourable State; but if they would voluntarily make tender of themselves, as they themselves thought meet, we would endeavour to convey it safely (in case we went over about our own occasions) and bring them word what was the pleasure of the State therein; whereupon they chose four of us, as Commissioners in trust for the safe custody, and conveyance of their Act and Deed unto the State of *Old-England*.

The Act and Deed of the voluntary and free ſubmiſſion of the chiefe Sachim, *and the reſt of the Princes, with the whole people of the* Nanhyganſets, *unto the government and protection of that Honourable State of Old-England, ſet down here* verbatim, *the Deed it ſelfe being extant.*

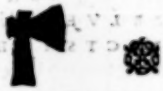
KNOW ALL MEN, Colonies, Peoples and Nations, unto whom the fame hereof ſhall come; that we the chiefe *Sachims*, Princes or Governours of the *Nanhyganſet* (in that part of *America*, now called *New-England*) together with the joynt and unanimous conſent of all our people and ſubjects, inhabitants thereof, do upon ſerious conſideration, mature and deliberate adviſe and Counſell, great and weighty grounds and reaſons moving us thereunto, vvhereof one moſt effectuall unto us, is, That noble fame vve have heard of THAT GREAT AND MIGHTY PRINCE, *CHARLES*, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, in that honorable and Princely care he hath of all his ſervants, and true and loyall ſubjects; the conſideration vvhereof moveth & bendeth our hearts vvith one conſent, freely, voluntarily, and moſt humbly, to ſubmit, ſubject, and give over our ſelves, Peoples, Lands, Rights, Inheritances, and Poſſeſsions whatſoever, in our ſelves and our heires, ſucceſsively for ever, unto the protection, care, and government of that WORTHY AND ROYALL PRINCE, *CHARLES*, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, his Heirs and Succeſſors for ever, to be ruled and governed according to thoſe ancient and honourable Lawes, and cuſtoms eſtabliſhed in that ſo renovvned Realme and Kingdome of *Old-England*; vve doe therefore by theſe Preſents confeſſe, and moſt vvillingly, and ſubmiſsively acknovvledge our ſelves to be the humble, loving, and obedient ſervants, and ſubjects of His Majeſty to be ruled,

led, ordered, and diſpoſed of, in our ſelves and ours, according to his Princely vvisdom, counſel, and lavves of that honourable State of *Old-England*, UPON CONDITION OF HIS MAIESTIES ROYALL PROTECTION, and righting of us in what vvrong is, or may be done unto us, according to his honourable Lavves and cuſtoms, exerciſed amongſt his ſubjects, in their preſervation and ſafety, and in the defeating, and overthrow of his, and their enemies; not that we find our ſelves neceſsitated hereunto, in reſpect of our relation, or occaſion we have or may have with any of the natives in theſe parts, knowing our ſelves ſufficient defence, and able to judge in any matter or cauſe in that reſpect, but have juſt cauſe of jealouſie and ſuſpition, of ſome of His Majeſties pretended ſubjects: Therefore our deſire is to have our matters and cauſes heard, and tried according to his juſt and equal Laws in that way, and order His Highneſſe ſhal pleaſe to appoint; NOR CAN WE YEELD OVER OUR SELVES UNTO ANY, THAT ARE SUBIECTS THEMSELVES IN ANY CASE, having ourſelvs bin the chiefe *Sachims*, or Princes ſucceſsively, of the countrey, time out of mind, and for our preſent, & lawful enacting hereof, being ſo farre remote from His Majeſtie, we have by joynt conſent made choyſe of four of his loyall and loving Subjects, our truſty and well beloved friends, *Samuel Gorton*, *John Wicket*, *Randall Holden*, and *John Warner*, whom we have deputed, and made our lawfull Atturnies, or Commiſsioners, not only for the acting and performing of this our Deed, in the behalfe of His Highneſſe, but alſo for the ſafe cuſtody, carefull conveyance, and declaration hereof unto his grace, being done upon the Lands of the *Nanhyanſet*, at a Court or Generall Aſſembly called and aſſembled together of purpoſe, for the publick enacting, and manifeſtation hereof: And for the further confirmation, and eſtabliſhing of this our Act and Deed, we the above-ſaid *Sachims*, or Princes, have according to that commendable cuſtome of Engliſh-men, ſubſcribed our names, and ſet our Seales hereunto, as ſo many Teſtimonies of our faith and truth, our love and loyaltie to that

our dread Soveraigne, and that according to the Engliſh mens account. Dated the nineteenth day of *Aprill*, One thouſand ſix hundred forty foure.

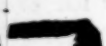
Peſſicus his Marke, Chiefe *Sachim* and Succeſſor of that late deceaſed *Myantonomy*.

The Marke of that Ancient *Conaunicus*, Protector of that late deceaſed *Myantonomy*, during the time of his nonage.

The Marke of *Mixan*, ſon and heir of that above-ſaid *Conaunicus*. 

Witneſſed by two of the chiefe Counſellors to *Sachim Peſſicus*.

Indians

Awaſhooſſe his Mark 

Tomanick his Mark

Sealed and delivered in the preſence of theſe perſons

Engliſh
Chriſtopher Helme.
Robert Potter.
Richard Carder.

Here

Here followeth a Copie of a Letter ſent to the Maſſachuſets, *by the* Sachims *of the* Nanhyganſets (*ſhortly after their ſubjection to the State and Government of* Old-England) *they being ſent unto by the* Maſſachuſets, *to make their appearance at their Generall Court, then approaching.*

We underſtand your deſire is, that we ſhould come downe into the *Maſſachuſets*, at the time of your Court now approachiog; our occaſions at this time are very great, and the more, becauſe of the loſſe (in that manner) of our late deceaſed brother, upon which occaſion, if we ſhould not ſtirre our ſelves, to give Teſtimony of our faithfulneſſe unto the cauſe, of that our ſo unjuſt deprivation of ſuch an inſtrument, as he was amongſt us, for our common good, we ſhould feare his blood would lie upon our ſelves; ſo that we deſire of you, being wee take you for a wiſe people, to let us know your reaſons why you ſeeme to adviſe us as you doe, not to goe out againſt our ſo inhumane, and cruell adverſary, who tooke ſo great a ranſome to releaſe him, and his life alſo, when that was done. Our Brother was willing to ſtirre much abroad to converſe with men; and wee ſee a ſad event at the laſt thereupon: Take it not ill therefore, though we reſolve to keepe at home (unleſſe ſome great neceſſitie call us out) and ſo at this time doe not repaire unto you, according to your requeſt: And the rather becauſe we have ſubjected our ſelves, our Lands and Poſſeſſions, with all the right and inheritances of us and our people, either by conqueſt; voluntary ſubjection, or otherwiſe, unto that famous and honourable government, of that Royall King *Charles*, and that State of *Old-England*, to be ordered and governed according to the Laws and Cuſtoms thereof; not doubting of the continuance of that former love that hath been betwixt you and us, but rather to have it increaſed hereby, *being ſubjects now, (and that with joynt and voluntary conſent) unto the ſame King and State your ſelves are*: So that if any ſmall thing of difference ſhould fall out betwixt

us, only the ſending of a Meſſenger may bring it to right againe; but if any great matter ſhould fall (*which we hope and deſire will not, nor may not*) then neither your ſelves nor we are to be Judges, but both of us are to have recourſe, and repaire *unto that honourable and juſt Government*; and for the paſſage of us or our men, to and againe amongſt you, about ours or their own occaſions, to have comerſe with you, we deſire and hope they ſhall have no worſe dealing or entertainment then formerly we have had amongſt you, and do reſolve accordingly to give no worſe reſpect to you or yours, then formerly you have found amongſt us, according to the condition and manner of our countrey.

Nanhyganſet this preſent, May the 24. 1644.

PESSICVS his Marke.

CONAVNICVS his Marke.

Now before the aſſembling of the next generall Court, in regard the *Indians* had expreſſed themſelves as above we heard, there were feares and jealouſies raiſed up in the minds of the people, of the *Maſſachuſets*, *and other of their united Colonies*, as though there was ſome danger of the *Nanhyganſets* comming againſt them to doe ſome hurt unto them: So that when we heard their Court was aſſembled, we writ unto them, as follows.

A true Copie of a Letter ſent to the Maſſachuſets, *at a generall Court held ſhortly after the ſubmiſſion of the people of the* Nanhyganſets, *unto the State of* Old-England, *by the Commiſſioners put in truſt, for the further publication of their ſolemne Act.*

THeſe are to let you underſtand, *that ſince you expelled us out of your Coaſts*, the *Sachims* of the *Nanhyganſet* have ſent for certaine men of the Kings Majeſties ſubjects, and upon adviſed Counſell amongſt themſelves (a generall Aſſembly being called of purpoſe for that end) they have joyntly voluntarily, and with unanimous conſent, ſubmitted and ſubjected themſelves, with their Lands and Poſſeſſions inherited by lineall diſcent, voluntary ſubjection, right of Conqueſt, purchaſe or otherwiſe, what ever lands or priviledges appertain and belong unto them, unto that honourable and famous Prince *Charles*, King of Great *Britain*, and *Ireland*, in that renowned State and Government of *Old-England*, to be ruled and ordered, according to thoſe honourable Laws and Cuſtoms, in themſelves and their Succeſſors for ever, which is performed and done, *in that ſolemn, durable, and commendable cuſtome of Record, under divers and ſeverall hands and ſeals, witneſſed ſufficiently, both by the Natives and Engliſh, ſolemnly delivered and received on His Majeſties behalfe, holding correſpondencie with the Laws and Cuſtoms of that honourable State of* Old-England *in all points*: We thought good therefore to give notice hereof, at your generall Court now aſſembled, that it may ſerve to informe your ſelves, and all your united Colonies, of the performance of this Act done, without any further pains or trouble, that ſo not our ſelves only, that are eye and ear witneſſes hereof (but you alſo) may follow our occaſions and imployments, without any extraordinary care, or feare of the people above-ſaid, to offer to make any in-road, or give any aſſault upon us: *But with that indignity offered and done unto*

their

their Soveraign, which cannot be borne, nor put up, without a sharpe and Princely revenge; nor may we upon the like penalty, offer to disturbe them in their bounds and territories, in their ordinary and accustomed imployments among themselves, or with any of their neighbouring Natives, *whose grounds of proceed causes and occasions are better known unto themselves, then we can be able to judge of.* But if either you or we find any thing amongst them too grievous to be borne; they not making any violent assault upon us, we know whither, and to whom we are to repaire, and have recourse for redresse, *as we tender our allegeance and subjection unto our King and State,* unto which they are become fellow subjects with our selves; and therefore of necessity his Majesties Princely care must reach unto them. Furthermore, that it may appeare, that our dealings towards you, and all men, have been, and shall prove just, and true, *whatever your dealings may, or have manifested themselves to be towards us:* Know therefore, that being abroad of late about our occasions, we fell to be where one of the *Sachims* of that great people of the *Mankquogges* was, *with some of his men*, whom we perceive are the most fierce and warlike people in the countrey, or continent where we are, furnished with 3700. guns, men expert in the use of them, plenty of powder and shot, with furniture for their bodies in time of warre, for their safety, which other Natives have not; we understand that of late they have slain a hundred French, with many Indians, which were in league with the French, putting many of them to cruell tortures, and have but lost two of their own men; these being as we understand deeply affected with the *Nanhyganſets*, in the losse of their late *Sachim*, unjust detaining also of so great a ransome, given and received for his life, and else, are resolved (that if any people offer to assault them in their accustomed courses amongst the Natives, or seeking after their ancient rights and priviledges, not offering wrong to any of His Majesties subjects, nor violating their subjection to that *Noble State*, which they seem to respect, and much to adore) to wage warre with them unto the uttermost, which it seems is the very spirit of

that

that people to be exercised that way, which as we desire to make use of it our selves, so doe we hereby give no ice to you also, to make the best use of it unto your selves in all your Colonies united.

June the 20th, 1644. *By us the true and lawfull owners of* Shaw-omet.

John Warner Secret.

These things being done, we residing upon *Aquethneck*, alias, *Road-Iland*, hiring houses and grounds to plant upon, for the preservation of our Families: The Governour of the *Massachusets* perceiving that we still aboad among the English, and were not gone to the Dutch as others formerly did, he then writ a Letter privately to some in the Iland, *whom he thought they had interest in*, being he continued a Member of their Church, however removed from them, telling him, that if he and others (who were in like relation unto them) *could worke the people of the Iland to deliver us up into their hands again (at least some of us) it would not only be acceptable unto the Court then sitting, but unto most of the people in generall*; the people of the Iland having notice of this Letter, *did altogether dislike and detest any such course to be held with us*, knowing very well what they had already done, and how causelesly; So that we abode still upon the Iland, and followed our imployments, untill such time as there appeared amongst us a Charter of civill government, granted by the State of *Old England*, for the orderly quiet, and peaceable government of the people inhabiting in those parts of the countrey, *called Providence Plantations, in the Nanhyganset Bay*, which Charter being joyfully imbraced, and with all expedition, an orderly and joynt course was held for the investing of the people into the power and liberties thereof unanimously, for the exercise of the authority, in the execution of Lawes, for the good and quiet of the people, which thing gave great incouragement unto the Planters, to goe on in their imployments, hoping to enjoy their lawfull rights and priviledges without disturbance, which the *Massachusets*, together with

Plymouth understanding, they go about by all means to discourage the people, by their endeavouring to weaken, and invalid the authority of the Charter, in the eyes of the countrey, intrenching upon those places, to frustrate and make void the Charter, as by maintaining their *Coadjutors*, as aforesaid in opposing of us, giving them order to set up writs upon our houses, where formerly we lived, prohibiting all men for entermedling with those Houses, Lands, Peoples, either *English* or *Indians* (which they call their own people) without their consent and approbation in those parts, which all plainly fall within the connes of the fore-named Charter, and far out of all their jurisdictions.

Here followeth a true Copie of a Warrant set upon our houses at Shaw-omet *verbatim, being extant, which was done after the Charter appeared amongst us.*

WHereas we understand that some of our countrey men about *Providence*, or those parts, doe intend to sit down upon our Lands at *Show-omet*, or those parts: This is therefore to give notice to any such, that they forbear, without license from us, to attempt the same, or to meddle with any of our people there, either *English* or *Indians*; for let them be assured, that we resolve to maintain our just rights.

Given at the Court at Boston, *the* 16th. *of the* 8th. *Mo*, *Ann.* 1644.

By me *Increase Nowell*, Secret.

After this they ceased not to send out their Warrants amongst us, after the Charter was established amongst us, sending divers, and serving them upon the men of *Providence*, expresly commanding their appearance at their Courts in the *Massachusets*.

A

A Copie of one of their Warrants to the men of Providence *here followeth Word for Word, and is extant under their hand.*

To the Executors of Francis Weston.

YOu are required to take notice of an Attachment against the Lands of *Francis Weston*, so as to bind you to be responsall, at the next Court at *Boston*, to answer the complaint of *William Arnald*, * for withholding a debt of thirty shillings due to him, and hereof not to faile at your perill.

One of their now coyned subjects amongst us.

Dated the 5. (4) 1645. Per cur. *William Aspinwall.*

And as they thus goe beyond their bounds, not only to intrench upon the liberties and labours of their countrey men, (*but also upon that authority transferred upon that people by the State of Old-England, for the quiet and peaceable ordering and government of themselves*) not only in *Providence* and *Shawomet*, but like wise upon *Road-Iland*, both in *Portsmouth*, and *Newport*, specified in the Charter; the Colonie of *Plimouth* joyned in league with the *Massachusets*, to such ends and purposes, sent their Messengers to *Road-Iland*, *as namely, one Master* John Brown, *an Assistant in government amongst them there*, who went from house to house (both in *Portsmouth* and *Newport*) discouraging the people for yeelding any obedience unto the authority of the Charter, giving them warning (*as from the Court of* Plimouth) *not to submit unto any government that was established by vertue of a late pretended Charter*, (as he very presumptuously called it) *nor unto any other authoritie, or government, but only such as was allowed and approved of by them*, although formerly they have many times confessed and acknowledged both by Word and Writing, that it was out of *their jurisdictions*, without which acknowledgement, the people would never have adventured to lay out their estates, and to have planted themselves and families in those parts, *some of them having too great and costly experience of* Plimouths *dealings with their countrey men, to be*

such as may be fitly paraleld with the dealings of the Massachusets, *and their practise springing from the same spirit, hath brought them into league and band*, when they were clearly manifested each to other, who before at the time of their first Neighbour-hood there, they were at a distance, and stood aloof, one from the other, *as each thinking I am holier then thou*, the men of *Plimouth*, comming thither from *Amsterdam*, and the other out of *hot persecutions* of the Bishops in *Old England*.

Now that these men doe not onely intrench cautelously upon their countrey-men, but also upon the poore *Indians*, inhabiting in those parts, it is very plaine by their proceedings against that people of the *Nanhyganset*, whose countrey fals within the confines of the Charter, which people only going about to right themselves upon such *Indians* as they conceive have mightily wronged them in taking away *the life of their Prince, after so great a ransome given, and received for his rescue*; this they make their occasion to go out against them to cut them off, and so to take their countrey into their own jurisdiction; whereas the *Indians*, of our knowledge hold themselves bound, to revenge the blood of their Prince, it being so unlawfully (in their eyes) taken away; nay, they are not quiet in themselves, unlesse they doe revenge it, or else spill their own, in their endeavours thereafter; in the mean time they are in a continued act of mourning, as we know, for the space of one whole year, and an halfe, they mourned continually, not only by blacking their faces, in token thereof; *but every day their mourning women, morning and evening upon their knees, with lamentations, and many tears along time together*, as our selves have been eye-witnesses, when we have had occasions amongst them, and in houses that were more publick, where the wife and children of the diseased Prince were, *there did a man continue a speech (during the time of the Womens praying, sighing and lamenting with abundance of tears)* declaring what their losse was in being deprived of such a Sachim, and how wrongfully it was done by the enemy, as also how they were all of them ingaged to revenge his blood, *else would it so lie upon their own heads, as to bring more*

miseries

miſeries, and evils upon them: Now for this their proceeding againſt their adverſary the *Indian*, that thus deprived them of their Sachim, and ſo wrongfully (*as they conceive*) *the Maſſachuſets, and Plimouth have offered to goe out againſt the people of the* Nanhyganſet, *to cut them off by the ſword*, ſending word to *Providence* Plantations, that if they ſhould ſtand as Neuters, and not goe out with them in this worke, they would make plunder of them: So Captain *Standiſh* ſent word in the name of *Plymouth* (now ſince we came out of thoſe parts) unto the men of *Providence*, as wee are credibly informed by Letters from divers hands, as alſo by word of mouth from perſons of good note, who were in the countrey there preſent amongſt them, when theſe things were done, informing us of many paſſages, of the proceedings of the *Maſſachuſets*, and *Plymouth*, both towards the people of *Providence* Plantations, as alſo the *Indians* of that countrey of the *Nanhyganſets*; only one Letter that concernes the *Indians*, wee deſire to ſet down, to give further intelligence to the Reader of theſe mens dealings, who ſeemed ſo meek, and ſo mild in their native countrey, *Old England*, in the time of their aboad there, *as though they could not heave a hand, or wag a tongue againſt any thing but a Biſhops Ceremony*, that being onely offenſive unto them.

Here followeth a true copie of a letter ſent unto us ſince our coming from thoſe parts of America *called* New England.

WE are all in health at this preſent and chearfull, (the greateſt want is your company) *though men generally more invective then ever*, the Bay had provided an Army to go againſt the *Nanhyganſets*, had they not been prevented in the very *interim thus*, Captain *Harding* informed the Court of the difficulty of the enterpriſe upon which the Court employed him, & Mr. *Wylbour*, to go to *Nanhyganſet* and take *Benedick*,* to interpret; when they came to *Benedick* he refuſed to go without a hundred men in arms, onely to poſſeſſe them with danger, *to effect his bloody plot*, upon which Mr. *Williams* being ſent for to *Nanhyganſet*, and alſo my ſelf, to inquire of us, *what*

* One of their aforeſaid ſubeſtors or agents dwelling in *Providence*.

the minds of these mad people were to kill men for nothing; upon which I went to *Providence* [a], thinking to go with Master *Williams*, but, when I came there, he was gon, with the Captain & Master *Wylbour*, upon *Benedicks* refusall; I stayed their return, and their agreement was to have *Pessecus* (a) go into the Bay, and Master *Williams* was necessitated to put himself Hostage till his return; this news coming into the Bay did so vex the Ministers, that Master *Cotton* preached upon it, *that it being so wicked an act to take Master* Williams *with them, being one cast out of the Church, It was all one as to ask counsell of a witch, and that those that did it, were worthy to die*; upon which Master *Wylbour* was ready to die, for feare he should be hanged; so then the Indians went down, *and they compelled them to cease warres with* Unkas [b] *and to pay them five hundred pounds for charges of Court, and provision for Souldiers* [c], *and to leave foure of the chief Sachims children, till the money be paid, and to leave foure of his chief men till the children came, and to promise them not to sell any land without their consent*: [d] this being done they came home again, and [illegible] a man to tell me what was done, telling me that if the Lords in *England* help them not, they are like to suffer at present, but still they say they are not afraid of them, but onely give them their demands, rather then to war, before the Lords hear of it, that all may see they mean no hurt to *English*, but will submit to the Lawes of *England*, concluding it is but lent, it will come home with advantage both to their wisdome and profit. *Pessecus* hath been often with me to desire me to inform you of these things with great desire to see you again. Thus in haste I rest,

Your ever loving friend

This 20th *of* November 1645. J. W.

a Chief Sachimof the *Nanhyganset*

b That is, the the Indian who slew their Sachim *Miantonomy*, when he had received a ransom for his life.

c The Court called to consult how to cut them off, and Souldiers they had raised up for that purpose.

d Thus to get intereſt in their land, either to people it with whom they pleaſe, or elſe to get occaſion to go out againſt them again.

Thus have we given a true report, and made a faithfull relation, as briefly as we could, of what passages have fallen out betwixt the people of *Providence* plantations, and the rest of our countreymen inhabiting about them, which we have sensibly felt, and our families are now pressed under, laying it unto heart

heart, and seriously taking it into consideration, hath not onely occasioned, but necessitated some of us to be here at this present with the consent of many others, according to our bounden duty, and allegeance, to present the truth hereof to this State.

LONDON the 14th of *January* 1645.

Here cometh a letter to hand, was written in the time of our confinement, & lying in bolts, & irons in the *Massachusets*, occasioned by one of our wives, she hearing doctrine delivered (in that part of the countrey where she was driven with her children) questioning the truth of it, writ to her husband to desire his thoughts of it; it was gathered from *Mat.* 24. 29. & alluding also to *Heb.* 12. 26, 27. for the explication of it, the substance of the doctrine was, that such a time of reformation, & restauration of the church of God, here on earth, was coming, the glory whereof should darken the Sun and Moon, & cause the stars to fall from heaven, that is, saith he, make the Apostles doctrine & order of the Churches in those dayes to appeare as darknes in comparison of that light which should now appeare, shewing also, that the ministery of the Apostles was that which might & should be removed, that a more excellent glory might be brought in, and remain, concluding that the ministery of the Apostles, was but a ministery of witnesse, but one should hereafter appeare having the presence and reality of that which they but onely witnessed, and gave testimony unto.

Here followeth a true copy of the answer given unto the things propounded as above, in way of satisfaction, how we are to think of such kind of doctrine, which the world is so taken up with, and seems to stand in such expectation and hopes of.

CONcerning that point you writ from *Mat.* the 24 29. as also *Heb.* the 12. 26, 27. Namely, *that the Apostles ministery, was a ministery of witnesse*, we readily grant; *but that*

that it was no more then a ministery of witnesse, we utterly deny, for it had not onely *witnesse, but judgement also of condemnation and absolution in it*, therefore the Apostle saith, *God shall judge you according to my Gospel;* for the Apostles are not, but through the Spirit of the Sonne, *who is that faithfull and true Witnesse*, yea, *and the judge of all, also*; and higher then his ministration (*who comes out of the bosome of the Father*) *we look nor nor ever desire to go*, Therefore we onely confesse him, *who is, and who was, and who is to come*, and therefore reject such a Gospell as professeth *such persons, times, and ministrations past*, as never shall come again, and *such persons, times and ministrations to come as yet never were*, as a cunning device and sleight of Sathan to beguile the soules of men, *either to stand in expectation of things to come, or else in admiration of things past*, whiles in the mean time they are kept void of faith, *which gives being unto the things, yea even at the present time*; otherwise it is but to know persons and things after the flesh, *but henceforth know we no man after the flesh, no though we have known Christ Iesus after the flesh, yet henceforth know we him no more.*

And for the Sun being darkened, to be the ministery of the Apostles becoming dark in respect of a greater light appearing, *we may in no case allow*; for the Sunne there spoken of, is *that Sunne of righteousnesse*, a greater then which shall never appear, *but when the crosse of Christ* (spoken of in that Chapter) is evidently set forth, and declared to be that which indeed it is; *then is that Sunne of Righteousnesse, that is light in it self, turned into darknesse, in all the men of the world*, even as the Saints, *which are darknesse in themselves, become light in the Lord*; for as the wicked *turn the truth of God into a lie*, which is truth in it self, and ever will be, so they transform *the light of the Lord into darknesse, which in it self is light and can never be darknesse*: the Moon also, whose time is to appeare, and her place *to have dominion in the night*, shall not give her light, she shall fail in her office to shine, waxe, waine, and to set bounds to times and seasons, that is, *the wicked shall see themselves deprived of all hope to attain to a change,*

time

time or season, which shall alter their wofull condition, or remove the wrath of the Lord from them, yea in their looking back to the changes of their life before, wherein they have thought themselves so well exercised, *the Moon in that respect shall be turned into blood* (as *Joel* speaks in the same case) all times shall afford them no hing else but to see how they have been practising *the shedding of that innocent blood, even from the blood of Abel, whom his brother slew in the field,* where they were exercised in ordinary imployments, in the things of this life, *unto the blood of* Zacharias *slaine (between) or in the middle of the temple and the altar, even in the very height of their worship and ordinances, so much stood for at this day.* Nothing but such manner of light, or such a time or season (shall that light of heaven) the times and changes which they have passed through afford unto them, *yea the starres shall fall from heaven,* even cease to afford their various glories and lights, yea *that day starre shall never give notice of that day springing from on high to visit them, or the rise of that Sunne of righteousnesse, with healing under his wings,* nor shall their severall operations, and vertues yield any refreshment unto these terrene & sublunary things, that is, all those severall glories, and various vertues and operations that are in *that bright morning star the Lord Iesus, and in those seven starres which he holds in his right hand,* they shall all fall off, and lose their lustre, light, and influence, in and towards *the earthly sonnes of Adam,* as though they had never been; for as *the rejoycing of the lamp of the righteous is a putting out and cessation of all sinne and sorrow,* even so *the putting out of the candle of the wicked, is a cessation, and utter demolishing of all the vertues and excellencies of Christ unto them, as though they were not at all,* nay more then so, *for as the sinne and miseries which men are by nature subject unto, are made through the wisdome of God, a meanes whereby we see the height and depth, yea all the dimensions of the love of God do appear unto us,* so are the excellencies that are in Jesus Christ, made (through the wisdom of that serpent) *means of torture & torment to the wicked for ever,* even as the excellencies of these visible heavens *would be a greater torture to man to*

loſe them then if he had never ſeen or enjoyed them; and thence it is, *that the powers of heaven are ſhaken* or the dominions of heaven; for every thing in the heavens hath its *Lordſhip*, the Sunne *hath dominion of the day*, the Moone and the ſtarres; *the dominion of the night*; the Sunne hath *Lordſhip* in ſhining, when the Moon hides her face; but not in ſetting bounds to times and ſeaſons; for the Moon hath *Lordſhip in that*, but not in affording vertue and influence to herbs & plants, for *the ſtars have power and dominion in that*, yea every *ſtarre hath its particular power and vertue*, yet can they not water the earth. The clouds *have their dominion in that*, yet cannot they ſerve man to breathe in; *the aire hath dominion in that*; ſo it is *in the heavenly powers of our Lord Chriſt*, whatſoever is in him *hath its dominion*, ſo as all the reſt have not their glorie without it, ſo that whatſoever is declared in the Kingdome of heaven *it is the firſt and the chief, and all the reſt do ſerve to make up all its power or chieftie*, ſo *as all the Elders caſt down their crownes before it*; all the excellencies that are in Chriſt Jeſus, *as love, wiſdom, righteouſnes, holines power & glory*, all things in him *have dominion and power*, & all theſe heavenly powers whatſoever *are ſhaken*, that is removed out of their places, not to appeare in them any more, for *the place wherein God declared his image at the firſt, in the beginning was man*; but when the croſſe of Chriſt is truly declared, then are all theſe *heavenly powers ſhaken out of man*, yea, *removed out of that proper place given unto them in the beginning*; therfore it is ſaid, *immediately after theſe tribulations*, or immediately with theſe tribulations, (as the word wil alſo beare) that is, *the preaching of the croſſe and theſe things are inſeparable*; no marvell therefore, that when ever the croſſe is preached, *the champions of that man of ſinne come out againſt it, ſtriving to retain their god*; for as it would be to nature in things of this life to ſee all *chief powers and heavenly bodies ſo ſhaken, as to remove them out of their place for ever*; the very thoughts whereof are diſmal to the mind of man; ſo, & infinitely more is it to the ſoul of a man to have *the excellencies & noble powers and dominions of God removed out of his heart where he placed them in the act of his firſt creation, are* ſo

that

that the excellencies of Christ, *are ever shaking and ever removing out of their place in the Wicked*, that the height of their torment may ever appear and remain: for these things are shaken and removed in them, through the wisdom of the Serpent, *that those things that cannot be shaken*, namely, *the Wrath and vengeance of God may remain*; even so it is in the godly, their sins and miseries *are ever shaking and removing out of their proper place, that those things that cannot be shaken*, namely, *the grace and righteousnesse of Christ may remain for ever*; therefore the voice of the Gospel *shakes both heaven and earth*, in that place alluded unto in your letter *Hebr.* 12.26.27. alluding both to *Mount Sinai, and Mount Sion*, so that the word *yet once more* declares a double removall, yea, *and that of things that are made*; for *man was made in the image of God*, yet the wisdome of the Serpent removed this image, that mans righteousnesse which is nothing *but abomination in the sight of God, might ever remain*, So also *Christ was made sin*, but the wisdome of God *removed this sin in the very act of his being made so* that the righteousnesse of God *might remain and abide for ever*; and then, and then onely *shall or doth appear the signe, or the miracle or wonder of the sonne of man in heaven, in those clouds of witnesse, or in that cloud of witnesses with power and great glory, so as all earthly kindreds shall mourn and wail before him, Even so* Amen. Now the signe or wonder of the Son of man is this, that God made him a world of life at the first, *for he breathed into his face, the breath of lives*, (as the word is) *for the life of all the world was in him*; and yet this world of life is become nothing else but a world of death in the wicked, *and no life of God found in them at all*; so is that son of man in the second *Adam made a world of sinne and death*, and yet this world of sinne and death is become *a world of righteousnesse and life unto the godly, and no sin nor unrighteousnesse of man found in them, for never was guile found in his mouth, Even so. Amen*, and this is the signe or miracle of the Son of man, which the world knowes not of, and therefore hath so many empty conjectures what it may be thought to be, gazing up into Heaven

after it: when as it is come down unto us, and they know it not. *Rom* 10. 7. 8.

Thus have I given you my thoughts as brief as I could concerning what you propounded unto me, and blesse the Lord that you ministred occasion to look into the text. *However we are set apart as a forlorn people in the eyes of, & by the world,* yet doubt I not, but our God hath singled us out for other ends and uses, *who hath put us into the Isle of* Patmos, *or among the nation of the dead, or deadly,* (as the word signifies) *to reveal unto us the great mysteries of his Kingdome, that we may declare unto those that now be here, how to have their hope in God, & that it may be told unto our childrens children that noble work that he hath wrought for us in our Lord Christ, who is over all, God blessed for ever* Amen.

Your loving husband
in bonds, and yet free,

Samuel Gorton.

A

A Post script.

DIvers Letters were written to friends in answer to questions, and resolution of Scriptures, which now are not at hand; otherwise we are very free to publish them to be seen of all, that the wise hearted might iudge of what our spirits and practises relished, and how they were imployed in the time of our durance amongst these men, that were so eagerly minded to make us blasphemers, that so they might take away our lives, as a part of the glory, and beautification of their Religion.

Only we desire the Readers pains to take a view of one other Letter, in answer to a friend, who seemed to be troubled about that Scripture, in *Iohn 6. 53. verse*, what the meaning of it might be, desiring resolution therein, since we arived in *Engl and.*

The words are these.

Then Iesus said unto them, verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood, ye have no life in you.

IN these words consider, first the occasion of them. Secondly, the summe of them, and thirdly the parts.

First for the summe, it is a divine sentence exclusive, of all men, from the life and spirit of God, save only such *as doe eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood.*

Secondly, the parts of them for order sake are foure. First the occasion of this sentence, in these words, *then Iesus said unto them*; secondly, the confirmation of this sentence, laid down in these words, *verily, verily*; thirdly, the manner of the sentence, contained in these words, *I say unto you*, fourthly

ly, the ſentence it ſelfe, excluding all from the life of God, ſuch only excepted *as doe eat the fleſh of the ſonne of man, and drinke his blood.*

For the firſt, which is the occaſion of this divine ſentence; that is, the reaſonings within themſelves, which the Jewes had in the operations of their naturall hearts, upon the delivering of this manner of doctrine unto them, *even by the ſonne of God himſelfe*, implyed in this word (*Then*) looking back upon the verſe immediatly going before, from which Chriſt takes occaſion to utter this ſentence; whence we obſerve, *That the Word of God takes occaſion, to utter and make it ſelfe manifeſt, even from the naturall reaſonings, and argumentations framed in mens minds*; though they are not the cauſe, yet they are the occaſion of the manifeſtation of it, even *as the truth, righteouſneſſe, power, and authority that is in God*, breedeth occaſionally, *feare, terrour, jealouſie, and wrath, in mens hearts and minds*, though theſe excellencies that are in God, are no proper cauſe hereof, but onely an occaſion, without which they would not be; For *if there were no Iudge, the Malefactor would not have terrour*; even ſo, the very naturall reaſonings of mens hearts, are the occaſions of the manifeſtation of the word of God in us, but no proper cauſe of it, for the cauſe is only in God himſelfe; but without ſuch reaſonings, and *Characteriſticall impreſſions in mans mind*, the word of God could never have been *implanted, written, or tranſlated in us, whereby we come to have the argumentations, and concluſions of ſonnes of God, and not ſimply, or meerly of creatures in our minds*, being once inlightned by him *who is God, and the Father of lights, where ever it appeareth*: So that the ſoule of man is of farre greater ſublimitie, and naturall excellencie in its creation, then any other creature under heaven ever had vouchſafed unto it; *So that there is an utter impoſſibility that any creature ſhould receive the impreſſions of God, but man alone.*

This is a large field to walk in, for according to the variety of the reaſonings of the mind of man by nature, which is ſet forth in all thoſe wayes, wherein men have walked, and manifeſted

niſeſted themſelves in this preſent world, *ſuch is that Wonderfull Epiſtle of Ieſus Chriſt, in the various writing and expreſſion of it in the ſouls, hearts, and lives of the Saints that are in light through Ieſus Chriſt*; inſtance in one for all, the ſpirit of a naturall father reaſons thus, *if my child ask bread* (to ſupply nature in the ſuppreſſing of hunger) *I cannot put a ſtone into his mouth, (that were cruelty)* but bread; if ſo be that I have it or can procure it; *if the child ask fiſh*, the father cannot put *a ſerpent into his boſome* to bite and ſting him, but ſomewhat to cure and refreſh him, if he have it. Now do but change this argument into the way of Chriſt, *and let God be the father, and my ſelf the child*, and then is God, not man, the father; the bread heavenly and not from the earth; the writing, reaſoning or argument, divine and eternall, not humane and temporary; and ſo the reaſonings and dictates of our ſpirits are tranſlated into *the arguments and dictates of the Spirit of God*, and the arguments and dictates of the Spirit of God are tranſlated *into a mind and ſpirit that ſpeaks the very ſame things naturally in it ſelf*, though onely in a way of death, through its naturall ignorance, *that now it ſpeaketh in that way of life, through that light and knowledge that is in the Lord*; and thus, *Chriſt by ſinne condemnes ſin in the fleſh*: for by thoſe reaſonings wherewith we juſtifie our ſelves naturally, *through that ignorance that naturally is in us*, by the very ſame arguments and reaſonings we condemn our ſelves, and juſtifie the Lord, *through that light and knowledge we have in him by Ieſus Chriſt.*

2 The ſecond thing to be obſerved, is the certainty of this ſentence laid down in the form of an oath, *verily, verily*, that is, *ſo it is* or *ſo it ſhall be*, as if he ſhould ſay *Amen, Amen*, ſo it is, and ſo it ſhall be *without alteration or change*, and in that the word is doubled, it is for the certainty of the thing, *as Ioſeph ſaid of Pharaohs dreame*, and of no leſſe certainty is all true expoſition and interpretation of holy Scripture, whatever men may dream as *Pharaoh did and knew not the meaning of it*, and ſpeak at uncertainties, not being reſolved whether things may come to paſſe now or then, or fall out

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to be thus, or ſo in the things of God; for the ſame ſpirit of truth and certainty, that gives the Propheſie, Proverbe, Parable, and adviſe, that records the Hiſtory, or gives ſentence divine, muſt alſo interpret, expound, and declare the meaning thereof; elſe is the Booke ſhut and ſealed up unto us; great folly therefore to conclude of certaintie of Scripture, and of no infallibility in the interpretation thereof; For no more then we know the truth of an interpretation, no more doe we know the truth and certainty of any Hiſtory, Propheſie, Proverbe, or Parable, which is propounded unto us, but take things upon report, as we doe other Chronologies of this world, *having only the traditions of men for the ground of our Worſhip of God.*

The third thing, is the maaner of pronunciation of the ſentence, *I ſay unto you*, or as the word is, *I ſay (in) you*; the word uſed here, tranſlated *(I ſay)* ſignifies ſuch a ſaying *as a Judge ſpeaks upon the Bench, when he gives ſentence in a cauſe, upon due proofe and evidence, which ſtands faſt in Law, being irrevocable*; ſuch is the ſaying and ſpeech of Chriſt, *the truth whereof can never be altered*; and whereas he ſaith, *I ſay unto you*, or as the word is, *I ſay (in) you*, it ſignifies that what ever the Saints utter in point of Religion, it is, and muſt be, the voice of the Sonne of God, and not of themſelves; ſo that as he ſuffereth in them, elſe can hee have no death at all, and then no Saviour; even ſo he ſpeaks in them, or elſe hath no voice, nor language at all; and therefore without them, no Revealer of the will of his Father; for where Chriſt is ſilent, there can be no Revelation, therefore is he the word, or expreſſion of the Father; and what he ſaith of him, he ſaith it in them: therefore he ſaith, *I ſay in you*, as in that very Epiſtle, or writing, *wherein I expreſſe my ſelfe in the Father unto the world, for my Father and I are one.*

The fourth thing to be obſerved, is the ſentence it ſelfe, excluding all from the life of God, ſuch only excepted *as doe eat the fleſh of the ſonne of man, and drinke his blood*; wherein obſerve five things briefly, firſt why he is called *the Sonne of man*

man, secondly, what is meant *by his flesh and blood* in this 2.
place; thirdly, what we are to understand by *eating and* 3.
drinking; fourthly, what is meant *by life* in this place; and 4.
fifthly how we are to understand, that exception or limitation, 5.
seeing *That of our selves We are not able to thinke a good thought*, how can we then performe such a weighty worthy, and unknown action, that is no lesse *then life it selfe*, in the doing of it.

For the first, *viz. Why he is called the Sonne of man?* 1.

Answ. Not only, nor properly, because *he had a soule and a body as all men have*, which indeed was good in the creation, and so *man is called the sonne of God*: But he is called *the son of man*, because he is so produced and brought forth, as none can be, but such as proceed of man alone: Nor can he be a *Saviour*, but in way of such production and son-ship, for Christ in respect of his death (*without which no Saviour*) is brought forth and produced no other way, *but only in, and by man*; for there is no death to be heard of in God, nor can he bring forth or produce of himselfe, any thing that is deadly, for *he is that Fountaine of life*; *yea, life it selfe, in the abstract*; nor can it be proper, or competible to the Sonne of God, to be brought forth in his death, in any, No, nor in all other creatures in the world, but only in man; for as no other creature in the creation was made in the Image of God, but man alone, so no other creature in regard of degeneration, can beare the Image of death and hell but man alone: Therefore it is that Christ is said, *to descend into the lower-most parts of the earth for our redemption, or in our redemption, Which is wrought in us, or in our nature only*; Therefore he saith, *thou wilt not leave my soule in hell, neither Wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption*; therefore of necessitie must he be brought forth, in respect of his death by man alone.

The second thing to be observed, is, What is meant by *flesh* 2.
and blood?

Answ. By flesh in Scripture, sometimes is meant, that which our Lord, or any of his were never nourished, nor in the least refreshed by, and that is the Arme of flesh, which is

a curse to all them that strengthen themselvs by it in the things of God; for in that sense, *shall flesh and blood never inherit the Kingdome of God*; may adde further, in that sence it is true, *That if you live after the flesh, it is death*, which is to live according to the wisdome, skill, strength, study, and fore-cast, about the things of God, that a creature (meerly as he is a creature) is able to produce and bring forth, which is to live according to the wealth, power, and honour of the creature; whose goodlinesse is as the flower of grasse that withereth, consumeth, and is brought to nought; for the best thing that is in it (which is his wisdom) *is emnitie with God, for it is not subject to the Law of God, neither indeed can be.* But secondly, we are to understand by flesh, that weaknesse, frailty, and imbecillity of man, when he is deprived, and laid waste in himselfe, of all created glory, which is only then, *when the spirit of the Lord blowes, or breathes upon him*; and so becoms nothing in himselfe but weaknesse and infirmity: And in this sense the Ptophet saith; *Now the Ægyptians are men, and not God, their Horses flesh, and not spirit*: So saith the Psalmist in the same sence, *my flesh also resteth in hope*, that is my weaknesse, and *tired out condition, hath rest*, and strength in an other, though not in my selfe; *for hope that is seen is no hope*, so that my nature affords no such thing, but only that nature to which I am *united*: And in an other place, *Thou art a God that heareth prayers, and unto thee shall all flesh come*, that is, thou art strength, and able to supply abundantly in all things, for thou art God, and we bring nothing but weaknesse and infirmitie unto thee, *for unto thee nothing but flesh comes*; and so the Sonne of God is truly said, *to be made flesh*, that is weak and frayle, in regard of our nature which he tooke, or (as a continued act) takes upon himselfe.

Againe, by blood is here meant *the life, spirit, and power of the Sonne of God*, as he descends from the Father, even as the vigour, life and spirit of the creature runs in the blood, in the heat thereof: such is the life, spirit, power, vertue, and vigor of the sonne of man, as he is of the life, descent, and power of the Father from above, and so is God blessed for ever *Amen*; and in this sence is blood taken by our Apostle, where he saith, *This*

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is he that came by Water and blood, that is, *by weaknesse and strength, not by Water only, but by Water and blood*; that is, not by weaknesse only, but by weaknesse and strength, that is, weaknesse in us, or in our nature, but power in God, or in that nature divine; so is he said in the like sense, *to be crucified in the flesh, but quickned in the spirit*; and so is it also said, *That What the Law could not doe, in that it was weake concerning the flesh, yet the Sonne of God taking upon him that similitude, and by sinne condemned sinne in the flesh, that the righteousnesse of the Law might be fulfilled in us*, that is, even as he became flesh in us, so doe we become spirit, and life in him, *which is the fulfilling and perfection of the Law.*

The third thing observed is, what it is *to eat this flesh, and to drinke this blood?*

Answ. Is that as it is in the body of a man naturally in that respect, even so also it is in that mysticall body of Christ spiritually; for if a man should eat, or communicate in (as the meaning is) only in food for the body, and not take in moysture, or drinke, for the digestion thereof, it is the destruction of the body, because moysture, as well as heat, must be maintained, those being the two *Radicall humours*; else doth the Lampe goe out, and is extinct; yea, meate without moysture doth suffocate, and choak the spirits, to the surfetting of the body, and so becomes the over-throw of it, which otherwise would maintaine and uphold it. Againe, if wee should take in only drinke, without meat, upon which it operateth, and worketh, then doth the moysture presently overflow to the quenching of the heat, and so breedeth either some dropsie in the body, to the sinking and overthrow of it in that way, or else it fumeth up into the head, and breeds madnesse, and giddinesse in the brain, unto all foolish, wanton, and lascivious wickednesse: Even so it is in that mysticall body of Christ: And hence it is said (*by an elegant allusion*) to eating and drinking naturally) *that we eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood*; that is, if we eat or communicate with that weaknesse and frailty which is naturally in man, and which the Sonne of God assumed and tooke into unity with

himselfe, without alike drinking in, or communication with, that *Spirit and life wherein he visits us, and comes into our nature from on high* (*even out of the bosome of the Father*) then doe we surfeit, & suffocate the spirit, and die in our selves, and in our sinnes; and so also, *if we neglect that weaknesse that is in us* (as though no such thing were) and dream of a high and spirituall estate, *which doth not arise out of, and is the result*, (through the wisdom of God) of that weaknesse that is in us, then doe we either sinke in our folly, and become sottish in the things of God, being drunke up only with the things of this naturall life, else are we puffed up, and become giddy in our selves, thinking we know something, *when as indeed we know nothing as we ought to know*, but are meerly, *and vainly puft up in a carnall, aspiring, proud, vaine-glorious, and fleshly mind.* So that to eat the flesh, and drinke the blood of the Son of man, is to communicate in the things that are of Jesus Christ, both as he is God, and as he is man, and to hold the unity of strength and weaknesse; that is, how he is made weak in taking our nature, and so carries and bears our infirmities away for ever (he being that scape-Goat, whose office it is so to doe:) And also, how our nature is, thereby made strong and mighty, through that strength of the Sonne of God, in whom we find no infirmity, but are furnished with his power everlastingly, so that death which is naturally in us (as we are the sonnes of men) *is swallowed up of that victory and life*, which is in him, *as he is that victorious, and eternall Sonne of God*, and without a sutable correspondent, and hermonious feeding of these two, *as in one individuall subsistance*, we cannot have life in us, no more then our bodies can be sustained by meat without drinke, or by drinke only without meat: and

4. that is the fourth particular, *else we cannot have life in us*, that is, *we can have no life, spirit, or breathings of the Sonne of that living God in us*: For *as the body without the soule is dead, so also the soule without the life, and spirit of the Lord Iesus is dead*, and as the body lives not without meat and drinke, beate and moysture, so the soule lives not without communicating alike, *in this strength and weaknesse*, or *in this life and death*,

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which is in the Sonne of God, who dies concerning the flesh, but is quickned in the Spirit, and the spirit of God proceeds ever from these two, when ever it uttereth it selfe, *in that lively Oracle or speech, from off the covering Mercy-seat, it is ever from between these two Cherubims*, and never speaks evidently, *what perillous times are in the last dayes*, but only as it proceeds from these twain, that is, from a dying unto the flesh, and a being quickned in, and living unto the spirit, by which *life, Spirit, or breath it ever preacheth, from the dayes of* Noah, *even untill now*, both in our selves, and by our selves to others; for as it is a Maxim, that the spirit proceedeth both from the Father and the Son, so is it here, for the *flesh*, or infirmity of Christ is the *Father*, & the spirit or power is the *Son*, as he is brought forth in that way of his death, without which he had never been a Saviour, and the *Spirit* or power is the *Father*, and the flesh is the *Son*, in as much as he brings forth life in this death, without which he had never been as he is *man*, in respect of that *life, by which hee liveth the life of God, never to dye any more*, so have we eating and drinking made one in that way *of the faith of the Son of God*, without which we cannot live the life of that *Saint or holy one of Israel*.

The fifth particular in this point is, how it can be said, *that we eat this flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood*; in which consider two things, first who are meant in that he speaks plurally, except *ye eat*, &c. Secondly, how we can be said to eat and drink in such a high nature, seeing *that we of our selves cannot thinke a good thought*, much lesse performe such an act as this. 5.

For the first, who are meant in that he speaks in the second person plurall, *Ye*.

Answ. It is not properly to be understood, as being meant *of man and man*, no not as of Saint and Saint, but of one Saint *as he consists of a two-fold nature*, according to that faith of the Sonne of God; so is it, *Yee*, that is, every one that is in Christ, and so *through those precious promises, or gracious Covenant, is made partaker of that nature divine*; yee, who ever is one *of those children that have flesh and blood, of which the Sonne*

of God also tooke part with them, namely, they *that are partakers of those two natures by faith*, that are in Jesus Christ, to every one of those this is spoken, as to such as are eaters, and drinkers in this case; for Christ as he is God, feeds upon nothing but our infirmities; that is, strengthens himselfe in point of our salvation, with nothing but our frailties and imperfections, and so of weak becoms strong, yea of an abject, the Lord of all, *For he in no case taketh hold on Angels*, that is, of any power or excellency in the creature to deliver us thereby, *but only on the seed of Abraham* (a Pilgrim and stranger in the Land) *he taketh hold*; that is, on our weaknesses, and imperfections, and out of them he brings his owne power and strength and other food the Sonne of God never tooke into unitie, nor digested, to gather strength unto himselfe by. Againe, as he is man he *drinketh the blood*, that is, takes in, or receives that *blood, life, spirit, and power of God, whereby he is inabled to doe all things, according to the purpose of his will*, and other drinke he never drunke, as he is man; for our poor nature is of that *vast emptinesse*, that nothing but *the fulnesse and power of an infinit and al-sufficient God, can possibly supply and perfect it*, and so there is a compleat eating and drinking, which is that full satisfaction and nourishment, that can be found in none, *save only in the Sonne of God himselfe*, for it is a weaknesse of that nature and latitude, that nothing can supply and make up but God himselfe; and it is a power of that fulnesse and perfection that can take nothing into unitie with it selfe that may be thought to adde any thing (no not in the least) unto that strength and vigour that is in God; for then it were not an Almighty power of God that saves us.

And so it is (*We*) that eat and drinke, that is, *We*, humane nature and divine; for *in eating*, the word eats up, and consumes our infirmities, and so there is a plurality in the act, not only of natures in that one act, but of eating also in sundry kinds and wayes; for as our infirmities are multiplyed, and that aptitude that is in us to fall, such is the multiplication of that restoration which is in that good word of God; it is (*We*) also in drinking, that is, our *vast emptinesse*, drinks and takes

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in that fulneſſe, power, and ſpirit that is in the word of God, in which we are expreſſed and made manifeſt to be the ſonnes and daughters of God, and in that mutuall eating and drinking our life, ſtrength, and comfort doth conſiſt.

The fifth particular, how it is ſaid (*that we doe eat*) that are not able to doe any thing; alike anſwer is to be given to this as to the former, when he ſaith, *Yee*, he means not only divers men, but he meaneth every one as conſidered, in him, who is not only of man, but alſo of God; ſo that if we ſpeak of man ſeparated from the Word of God (which hath ſufficient power in it ſelfe) we miſſe of the meaning, and of the mind of God, and ſo of that communion or eating that is in the faith of Jeſus Chriſt; and if we ſpeak of God divided and ſeparated from man, we commit the like errour, and are in the ſame default; but we muſt hold and maintain the unity of them both, in that way of faith in the Sonne of man, then is there power and ability, both to eat and to drink, even as there is power and ability in the Heavens and the earth, united in their operations, to bring forth fruit plentifully, which worke cannot be done, if either of them were ſet apart, and ſeparated one from the other: So that the word of God is made ſtrong through our weakneſſe, that ſo it may appeare and make manifeſt it ſelfe: and our weakneſſe appears, and is acknowledged through that word of God, that ſo all may be given unto God, and he may be all in all; ſo that it is (*Yee*) as man conſidered, in and with the power and ſpirit of God, in which he is inabled to doe all things, and not (*Yee*) as conſidered one man, in and with an other, for ſo all fleſh is graſſe, ſurely in that reſpect the people is vanity.

S. G.

FINIS.